[15 cont.]

124 Sometimes he would come back after a few days and ask: "May I hear once more what you have taken down? Something else has occurred to me, add this and that." In each case he would know exactly on which sheet the passage was, although he could not read any of it, proof of his attentiveness and his good memory.

128 Sometimes it may appear as though the linguistic dress
●192 of this first part excessively conveys my European technical
177 terms and not the simple language of the informant. This is not the case, however, for such technical terms are found in both Chinese and the Tujen language. Chinese and Tujen have their own words for trance, meditation, offering, libation, prayer, etc. They distinguish between slaughtering and offering a sacrifice, between monk and layman, etc. These are, after all, the conceptions of a people who has not only been extensively influenced by Lamaism with its abundant religious forms, but also has active intercourse with Chinese culture. It should therefore be emphasized that all the words at the end of a chapter under the heading "Word List" come from the informant, including the indication of a possible Tibetan [16] or
[198] Chinese origin (3). It is not surprising that so many Tibetan

3. [Foreign text p. 18.] Mr. Unkrig had the kindness to check the word lists. In the process it turned out that the informant was quite reliable with his information concerning the Tibetan equivalents. Where it seemed necessary (not always), these equivalents have been added to the individual chapters in the univocal form of the written language (Tib. and Mong.), with the entry (Unkrig). I am further indebted to Mr. Unkrig for many another linguistic suggestion and above all for the inspection of the lexicons and Lamaist literature that otherwise was not available.

[16 cont.]
128 loanwords are cited, for Tibetan is the official language of
192 Lamaism, which occupies such a large place in the life of the
177 people. Here it should be mentioned that the old man desig-
[198] nated the expressions from Tibetan or Mongolic as "higher lan-
[186] guage" or "literary language," a value that he did not accord Chinese.

Finally a note with regard to the peculiar nature of this
114 work. It presents a popular religion, and that of a certain group.
[184] This means in the first place that not everything can be gen-
eralized for the Koko Nor region, not even for all the Tujen.
[179] Secondly, one will find no accounts about the dogma, the official rites, or the secret practices of monastic Lamaism and the higher Bon religion. The Tibetan and Mongolic writings give this information. Also, it was unnecessary to cite the basic literature on this subject, at least not to any considerable extent. To be sure, this is not infrequently done, but only when it seemed to be required for an understanding of the popular customs. In such cases it was preferable to start from linguistic considerations. On the other hand, a presentation of the popular religion as practiced is a help for knowledge of the
[177] official religion. The popular belief, with its various customs, casts new light on the multiformity of monastic Lamaism, which has adopted so many pre-Buddhistic traits from the conceptual realm of Central Asia.

## 6. The Transcription of the Tujen Language

104

The transcription of the Tujen words and the Tibetan-Mongolic loanwords is based on the orthography of the DMF. For practical reasons, however, the large letters were replaced by small ones and the diacritical marks simplified. The following table presents first the orthography used here (S), under it the one used by P. A. Mostaert in the DMF (M), and under that the phonetic values of the Anthropos alphabet (A).

[16 cont.]

104

Consonants

| | Laryn-gals | Velars** | Medio-gutturals** | Pre-gutturals | Palatals | Palatalized* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| S | h | ġ x | g k | y | ž š dž tš | s dz ts |
| M | χ | Ǧ ʒ | G k' | y | Ž š DŽ tš | ś DŹ tś' |
| A | h | g̣ x̣ | g kh | y | ž̌ š̌ d̂ž̌ tš̌h | š́ d̂ź tš́ |

| | Dentals | Dentilabials | Labials** | Liquids | Nasals |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| S | d t s dz ts | f | b p w f | r l | ñ n m |
| M | D t' s DZ ts' | f | B p' w f | r l, r | ŋ n m |
| A | đ th s đz tsh | f | b ph w ff | r l | ṅ, ŋ n m |

* Only before the dipthongs ia, ie, iă, and before i.

** g, ġ, b have the voiceless mark "-" in the Anthropos alphabet (A).

[17] "g," "ġ," "b," "d" are always voiceless. Hence the voiceless mark (-) is superfluous. "p," "t," "k," "tš," "s," "tš," "k" are always aspirated, and therefore the aspirate "-h" is unnecessary. "d" and "t" are palatalized only in conjunction with "dz" and "ts," so that a palatalization sign is not necessary. The same applies to "s," "dz," "ts," "sdz," "sts," which are palatalized only before "i," "ia," "ie," "iă." For instance, in place of džia (according to the Anthropos alphabet), there is simply dzia.

104 197 Besides "l" and "r," the DMF has a hybrid sound which approximately corresponds to the English "r" that is trilled once, and "r" is always used for it. The dialect in the region of my informant does not have nearly so many examples of this intermediate sound. The people there almost always differentiate the "l" from the "r" and almost always in the sense of written Mongolic, as I was later able to establish. According to the [192] DMF, Ǧar can mean "fire" and "hand"; supposedly there is no difference phonetically. My informants, on the other hand, quite clearly say ġal for "fire" and ġar for "hand."

[17 cont.]

104 The "f" is always bilabial before "u" and popularly acts
192 as bilabial for the Tibetan initial "b" in loanwords, for example, fdzaṅ (incense) for the Tibetan bsaṅs. Furthermore, it is to be observed in the case of Tibetan loanwords that the silent consonants of the written language are usually pronounced.

104

Vowels

| | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| S | i | ü | ẽ | ę | ĕ | ă | a | ō | o | u |
| M | i | ü | ę̃ | ę | ę̆ | ă | a | ų | o | u |
| A | i | ü | ę | ę | e | a̮ | a | o | o̲ | u |

The nasals are "ã," "ẽ," "õ," "ã̄." They usually occur in conjunction with "ṅ." A line over a vowel indicates lengthening. The diphthongs "ie," "iă," "ia," "iu," "io" are always rising. There is only one falling diphthong, namely, "ou"; "o̲" is always given for this because the "u" is scarcely audible. The murmured vowel "ĕ" represents a special case. In everyday speech it is often difficult to determine in the case of lightly accented syllables whether it is "i," "e," "u" etc., especially in case endings. Thus in the text this "ĕ" will occasionally be found for "i" and along with the univocal "i" of the nominative or accusative or for the "u" of the dative, etc., for example, morĕ along with mori (horse), or morinĕ along with morini (of the horse), or tieṅgĕrdĕ along with tieṅgĕrdu (to the sky), etc.

As the transcription for Chinese, that of Wade-Giles is used, for Tibetan that of Grünwedel with modifications, for Mongolic that of Unkrig.

[Pages 17-18 contain the notes given above as numbered footnotes.]

[22 cont.]

783
171

[Note on foreign text p. 26 cont.]
special sayings concerning this, which the Tujen lack.

Word List

192
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To prophesy: purgandë sila = the spirit to question (2).

2. [Foreign text p. 23.]
This expression applies both to the people who question the god and to the soothsayer who calls down the spirit. The Chinese say for this ch'ing fo-yeh, that is, "to invite the Buddha-Father." This expression is applied primarily to the soothsayer himself; in an extended sense it signifies every questioning by means of a deity, soothsaying, oracle.

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Spear-soothsayer: šdiendzën; šdien (Tib.) – the consecrated, the sacred (4).
dzën (Tib. loanword) = to contain, to hold.

4. [Foreign text pp. 23-24.]
šdien is the name both for the consecrated spear with bands attached and for the consecration band (or bands) itself, but primarily for the bands after the consecration and detached from the spear. The consecrated bands on the spear, according to the informant, are called by the Tibetan names xuon (silk cloth)

[22 cont.]

192
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[Note on foreign text p. 23-24 cont.]
and sēnisial (silk threads). These Tibetan names are sacred, whereas in profane speech the silk is called turguo and the threads šdadzē. For the use of šdien, cf. also the chapter, "The Animal Consecration," Note 4.

To explain the Tibetan loanword šdien, the old man wrote the Chinese sign kung-fêng, "to worship, to consecrate." In order to consecrate an object, to set it aside for the gods and make it especially worthy of worship, one should tie a band to it. Later on, so he said, the whole object, the figure, etc., was called šdien, as well as the bands and thread which made the spear sacred. The DMF (p. 371) explains šdien: "piece of red or yellow material that is put on the idols to worship them, on men or on animals to consecrate them to the gods or to preserve their life" [translated from French]. Cf. Tib. rten, "visible representation, symbol, seat of deity" (?)"[cited in English]. This explanation, which comes from another Tujen informant, agrees almost entirely with that of the old man. He only noted in connection with it that not only red or yellow bands, but also those of various colors could be used, [24] although one would not attach them to human beings. Red seems to be the most important color, however, as is apparent from the Chinese name hung-hung-tzu, "the red."

šdien is derived from the Tibetan rten; for further details see the following chapter, "The Gurtum," and Part Two. Here it

[22 cont.]

192
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[Note on foreign text p. 23-24 cont.] should only be noted that ʂdien (rten) in the narrow sense signifies "to contain, content," that is, seat of the spirit. In the broader sense one can accept the above explanation and translate it generally as "the consecrated, the sacred," etc.

dzĕn = Tib. 'dsin = "to hold, carrier." Ch. Das does not have the combination rten 'dsin, but on p. 1053 he gives similar compounds, for instance, rdo rje 'dsin: "the holder of the vajra" [cited in English]. ʂdiendzĕn has thus been rendered quite accurately by the informant as "carrier of the sacred; the one holding the consecrated."

192
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Spirit-spear: ʂdiendoṅ (5); doṅ (Tib. loanword) = conch, sublime, white, pure.
purgān = god, spirit, demon.
fo-yeh (chin.) = Buddha-Father (5).

5. [Foreign text p. 24.] When the informant here identifies the doṅ in ʂdiendoṅ with the Tibetan duṅ (conch), it is a rare case of an incorrect explanation by him. The phonetically similar doṅ, to be sure, has the meaning of "conch, pure, white, sublime" (cf. the chapter, "The Incense Offering"), but here it is none other than the Tibetan mduṅ, "lance, spear," in which the initial "m" is silent. Nasalized "u" is always changed into "o" among the Tujen. The Chinese tien-tung (spirit-spear), which likewise

[22 cont.]

192
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[Note on foreign text p. 24 cont.] is copied from the Tibetan name, is phonetically less ambiguous. Otherwise the Chinese say simply mao-ch'iang (= to the Siningman, miao ch'iang), that is, spear, lance.

šdiendoṅ therefore must be rten mduṅ in Tibetan. This combination is not found in Ch. Das, but it cannot mean anything other than a spear which is the seat of a spirit. For further information, see Part Two.

[792] The word purġan is used not only for the spirits themselves, but also for everything that they choose as a seat, though never for a Tulku (Living Buddha). The Chinese, on the other hand, designate with fo-yeh not only the Buddhistic gods and their idols, but also the Tulkus, which they also call huo-fo (fuo), "Living Buddha."

The consecration bands: šdien, or xuon (Tib.), or sënisial (Tib.?) (4) [see Note 4 above].

Bells (rattles): xõṅġuor (11).

11. [Foreign text p. 26.] xõṅġuor: Mongolic xongxo, Manchurian honggon, probably comes from the Chinese chung = bell. -- dzändän: goes back to Sanskrit and signifies sandaltree (Unkrig).

Mirror: xaldan mälõṅ = gold-mirror.
xdzër (Tib.) mälõṅ = gold-mirror.

Sandalwood: dzändän mödë = sandalwood (11) [see Note 11 above].

[824] Mountain ash: ġadani yärgë mödë = the mountain's ash wood (8).

8. [Foreign text p. 25.] The botanical name of the yärgë was not definitely

[22 cont.]

192
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[824]

[Note on foreign text p. 25 cont.] determined. According to the explanations of the people it is a rowan tree or mountain ash. According to others it could also be the tamarisk. The DMF likewise speaks of a mountain ash ("sorbier") and gives the Mongol. equivalent irgai, but then translates it with "chèvrefeuille" (honeysuckle) (p. 489). W.A. Unkrig (communication) gives the Mongolic xargai for it, with the meaning "larch, resinous tree, Pinus larix." The Chinese name, hsün-mu (hsün-tzu), is likewise indefinite.

Consecration prayer: rami (Tib.).
Chapel, temple: šdien kañ (Tib.) – holy house.

[23]

192 Prayer of invitation: ġsolkā (solkā) (Tib.).
782 ch'ing tsan (Chinese) = praise (3).
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3. [Foreign text p. 23.] The prayer of invitation varies according to the spirits to be called down. ġsolka or solka is the Tibetan gsol k'a (cf. DMF, 354). Ch. Das (p. 1315) translates it as: "request, prayer" [cited in English]. It is a request to the spirit to descend. The Chinese expression ch'ing-tsan says literally "to pray, to praise." In point of fact these prayers of invitation are at the same time supposed to contain praise of the tutelary spirit concerned, similar to the shaman prayers.

192
787 The spirit is there (sc., in the spear): purġān xärgëdzi kurdzia = the spirit, circling, arrived.

*798 [23 cont.]

● 192 Spear: sdzida (6).

[41]

6. [Foreign text p. 24.] The ordinary spears (sdzida) have disappeared from among the people. Only sporadically does one still see rough pikes which the farmers take with them into the mountains in order to keep the wolves away.

Spear tip: tolgue = head, tip (7).

7. [Foreign text p. 24.] The spirit-spears vary greatly in form and ornamentation. There are spears that are over two meters long, and some of only one meter. Most of them probably approach an average of two meters. Beautifully cut bands hang on a number of spears, for instance, on the temple-spear of the soothsayer of Êrh-ku-lung. On other spears they are attached in disorderly and random fashion. Of the spear forms mentioned above, the four-edged tip is the most common. The foot looks almost like the tip itself; it may be edged or round. Two-pronged tips also occur, but the informant does not consider them as effective as the other forms. -- If the spear breaks, the shaft is burned. The new shaft in turn receives the iron parts of the old one. If the iron parts break, they are worked again for another spear. The new

[23 cont.]

192
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[Note on foreign text p. 24 cont.]
spear must always be consecrated to the same deity as the old one.

Spear shaft: sdzida gändzë (Chin.) = spear shaft.
Spear foot: sdzida xuedë = spear end.
Two-edged tip: nieṅgān tolgue = flat tip.
Three-edged tip: guran bulõndë tolgue = three edges tip.
Four-edged tip: dieran bulõndë tolgue = four edges tip.
Trident tip: guran salā tolgue = three prongs tip.
The spear is shaking: šdien (purgan, šdiendõn) bõdzia (9).

192
787
756
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9. [Foreign text pp. 25-26.] The Tujen never say šdiendzēn bõdzia, that is, the soothsayer is shaking. They do say sgurdien bõdzia, that is, the shaman is shaking. In the case of shamans they will never say purgan bõdzia, that is, the spirit is shaking. These distinctions are to be noted; bõ- is reserved for that which is in motion, that is, the spear and the shaman, in other words šdien (= šdiendõn or purgān) and sgurdien. bõ- actually means (come down, descend, begin, start work," and refers to the medium of the spirit, not to the spirit itself, for the latter's descent is designated by kur- (kuru-), that is, "to arrive." This differentiates the peculiarity of the trance from the activity of the soothsayer. The Chinese, too, express a clear differentiation here. For the trance they say fashen-tzu, that is, to bring the body to a state of excitement; for the calling of the spirit for soothsaying, they say ch'ing fo-yeh, that is, to invite the Buddha(father).

Indeed, the way the soothsayers work is easy to differentiate from that of the shaman. I was able to observe both

[23 cont.]

192
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756
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[Note on foreign text p. 25 cont.]
repeatedly. There are two kinds of communication with the spirit. In the case of spear-soothsaying the center of movement lies in the spear and stays there. The spear shakes and draws only the soothsayer's arms and a little of the upper part of his body into the movement. The body is still; there is only an autonomous movement of the spear. At the same time the soothsayer is wholly aware of his surroundings; he observes everything that goes on about him and hears everything, even when he bends down to the spear and seems to speak with the spirit in it. When he speaks in the name of the spirit, he does so in a light, normal voice. When he is done, he sets the spear aside the way a craftsman lays down his tool. There is no excitement in the whole affair. -- It is different in the case of the shaman trance. The shaman, too, has weapons, for instance, sword and spear. I was able to observe in the clouds of incense how first the spear tip began to tremble, then the shaft. From the shaft the shaking went over to the arm, then on the chest to the next arm, and finally to the head and the entire body. The center of movement then lies in the shaman himself. He becomes pale or quite red. The heavy, much-too-large helmet is placed on his head, but because of his swelling head it nonetheless sits firmly. He foams at the mouth and speaks disjointed words in various languages. He is entirely inwardly directed and takes no notice of his

[23 cont.]

192
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756
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[Note on foreign text p. 25 cont.]
surroundings. To him everything is in a state of excitement and trembling. After the trance he is exhausted and has to rest for several hours.

For the conclusion of the spear-sooth-saying there is the expression ǯdien (ǯdiendõ̀) dž̀uoladzia, that is, the spear is ready. For the cessation in the case of the [26] shaman one says sgurdien dõ̀ladzia, that is, the shaman is finished. The actual meaning of dž̀uo- and dõ̀- has never been clear to me.

000 [Pages 23-26 contain the notes given above as numbered footnotes.]

[27] 2. The Gurtum (Sword-shaman)*

* See "Notes," pp. 31-33 [of the original text]. [In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

Report

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*[778]
[792]

The sword-shaman has as his most important weapon the sword, with which he fights against the demons. He always performs his ceremonies in a trance condition. Then his tutelary deity descends upon him and endows him with great powers.

Whether one becomes a shaman depends upon his ability to go into a trance. Some inherit it in the family. Many of them experiment in a lonely spot. As soon as one has learned how to do it, he goes to a lamić monastery. There he is tested to see if he is genuine. If he is genuine, he receives instruction and an amulet. Every year, however, he must return once to his teacher in order to train himself further.

[29 cont.]

Consecration: Once the young man has tested himself and feels secure, he takes 12 loaves of steamed bread, three loaves of baked bread, money, and a hada, and goes to the monastery. There he hands the gifts to a schooled lama with special praying power and requests the consecration.

First a test takes place. With the usual ceremonies, the shaman must put himself in a trance. He must indicate given objects; thorns are scattered on the floor and he is challenged to sit on them; whips are lashed in his direction, and in every possible way attempts are made to intimidate him. If he is a genuine shaman in a genuine trance, he is not afraid and is not injured. If his state is not genuine, he becomes frightened, backs away, or comes out of the trance.

At this point the presiding lama takes a hada (13),

13. [Foreign text p. 33.] Hada, Tib. k'a btags, is a scarf-like ceremonial cloth.

slings it around the shaman's neck, and asks which tutelary spirit revealed itself to him. The shaman then pronounces the name, kneels, and receives from the lama the instructions concerning his duties as shaman. Among these are the taboo and purification prescriptions, for example: he may not officiate when he is in mourning or when his wife is in confinement; also during this time he may not worship his tutelary spirit; after sexual intercourse and after enjoyment of tobacco and a considerable amount of liquor, he is unclean (11), and he must purify himself

11. [Foreign text p. 33.] Actually, liquor is not prohibited for the shamans. Here a Buddhistic prescription seems to be in effect, but in a weakened form, for a moderate consumption of liquor does not make the shaman unclean, only drunkenness does, although in the eyes of the Tujen this by no means represents anything morally objectionable.

[31 cont.]

Word List

192
756 The sword-shaman: sgurdien; gurdien (Tib. Tujen) (10); ku-wai-tien (Chin.); fa-la-tzu (Chin.); fa-shen-tzu-ti (Chin.); nañsuo (Tib.); Yao-shen-tzu-ti (Chin.); shen-ti-tzu (Chin.) = spirit disciple.

10. [Foreign text p. 33.] The Tujen strictly differentiate the sgurdien from the bõ, the Chinese fa-shih, drum-shaman. The Chinese also make this distinction. They call the gurtum ku-êrh-tien or ku-wai-tien, which is nothing other than a phonetic imitation of the word sgurdien, which in turn comes from the Tibetan sku-rten, "body container." The gurtum is regarded as the container, the carrier of his tutelary god. See the precise explanation of the name in Part Two, "The Shaman Character of the Gurtum."

[787] To go into a trance: sgurdien bõdzia = the shaman has come down, (that is, he has begun to shake); fa-shen-tzu (Chin.) = to excite the body; yao-shen-tzu (Chin.) = to shake the body.

[782] The prayer of invitation (before the trance): ġsolkā (Tib. loan-word); ch'ing-tsan (Chin.) = praise.

Consecration prayer of the lama over the shaman: guo ʒguē (Tib. and Tuj.).

[792] Great lama: ching-fa ta-ti-lama (Chin.) = lama with great power for prayer and magic.

*[778] The table upon which the shaman goes into a trance: t'iao-chuo-tzu (Chin.) = long table.

[31 cont.]

The shaman's sword: aradzi = two-edged sword; wadăm (Tib.) (12); chien (Chin.).

12. [Foreign text p. 33.] wadam: Tibetan dpa-gdam = sword. -- sonkuor: Tibetan skyon = protection, 'k'or = little disks (Unkrig).

The tutelary-spirit -- hada: šdien = the consecrated, as it is called before it is stuck in the bag; sonkuor (Tib. loanword) (12) [see note 12 above] = protective fort, as it is called when it is inside the bag; the amulet is also called this.

Chest-mirror: mălon (Tib. loanword); hu-hsin ching (Chin.) = the mirror protecting the heart.

Headcloth: tolgue banladzin = the head covering. pao-chin = packing cloth (Chin.).

Rattles: xonguor; ling-erh (Chin.).

Plowshare: timur ndziesĕ; t'ieh-hua (Chin.).

Thorns: huang-ts'ê (Chin.).

To banish devils: ilie sdzira; pudag sdzira = to banish filth.

Recompense for the shaman: hsiang-ch'ien = incense money.

[Pages 31-33 contain the notes given above as numbered footnotes.]

[33]

## 3. The Bon Priest*

* See "Notes," pp. 34-35 [of the foreign text]. [In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

### Report

There are two kinds of Bon priests: the nomads and the

[34 cont.]

791
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534

[Note on foreign text p. 35 cont.] menstruated; others maintain the opposite. At any rate, she has to be an unmarried person. In this connection cf. what is said in the section concerning death customs and cremation: that they are demons and are especially feared by demons.

791
[789] Activities: A special activity of the Bon priests is the erection of the pole-goat and conjuring away storms, as well as the making and conjuring of the figure-litter. Otherwise they have almost the same activities as the other soothsayers: they designate lucky days for housebuilding, traveling, etc.; they question fate concerning sickness and medicine, For soothsaying, [787] however, they use no special instruments; instead they have books from which they take everything. There are also Bon [755] priests who have learned to take the pulse and to prescribe medicines and are able to cure without magic. -- The Bon priests do not go into a trance, but only pray (6).

6. [Foreign text p. 35] The Bon are regarded with a kind of secret fear by the Tujen. They also have something to do with springs and mountains. It is said that they often dwell alone in tents in remote ravines and at wells throughout the summer. There they pray, conjure away storms, etc. Perhaps this seclusion contributes to the fact that all kinds of uncanny machinations are reported of them.

Word List

192
791

Shepherd-Bon: sënoĝsa (snaĝsa) (7); ch'an-t'ou peng-po (Chin.) = Bon with queue wound up.

[34 cont.]

192
791

7. [Foreign text p. 35.] dziliu: Tibetan dril bu = bell. -- kaṅgergĕ: Mongolic k'eng-gerge = drum. -- sĕnoġsa (snaġsa): Tibetan shags pa = sorcerer; shags bon = Bon priest. -- (n)duombora: Tibetan sdom = to bind, spu = hair, ra = wreath. -- šgaṅdoṅ: Tibetan rkaṅ = shinbone, duṅ = trumpet, snail. -- ndarĕ: probably a literary botching of the Sanskritic damaru (Unkrig).

Farmer-Bon: xuändie; su-jen peng-po (Chin.) = Lay-Bon.
Bon priest (in general): peng-po-tzu (Chin.).
Hair wreath of the farmer-Bon: (n)duombōra (Tib. and Tujen) (7) [see Note 7 above].
1778 534 Bone flute: šgaṅ-doṅ (Tib. and Tujen); chuo-pa (Chin.) = shinbone (7) [see Note 7 above].
Hourglass drum: ndarĕ (Tib. loanword) (7) [see Note 7 above]; pa-lang-ku (Chin.).
Bell: dziliu (7) [see Note 7 above]; ling-tang (Chin.).
Whip: p'i-pien-tzu (Chin.) = skin-whip.
Big drum: ta-ku (Chin.); kaṅgärgĕ.

[Pages 34-35 contain the notes given above as numbered footnotes.]

792 [35]

## 4. The Lama (Lama-Reception)*

*See "Notes," pp. 41-43 [of the foreign text]. [In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

### Report

There are many ceremonies to which a lama is invited.

[38 cont.]
792 to the animals (2).
796
782
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[192]

2. [Foreign text p. 41.] Concerning ṣdorma, the DMF writes (p. 338): "pyramidal figures made of grilled dough and offered to the spirits to ward off their evil influences. Cf. Tib. gtor-ma, id. (Mong. turma, tuurma, turuma... )" [translated from French]. Ch. Das characterizes (p. 527) the expression gtor-ma, which in turn goes back to a Sanskrit word, as cast offering: "sacrificial objects, i.e., that which is strewn or scattered or given away" [cited in English]. They are said to consist mostly of dough (rice, barley, etc.), to have a pyramidal shape, and are supposed to ward off dangers, to pacify the spirits, etc. -- Much has been written concerning the meaning of the gtor-ma; in this connection cf. the accounts in Filchner (Unkrig): Kumbum, Ch. XIV. The Tujen conceive of the torma as the seat of a demon or of a god or as spirit food. It does not remain a permanent seat, however, but only during the time of the ceremonies. The spirit is conjured into it by the lama. I was unable to ascertain the name balih among them. As spirit food they call it by the Chinese word szu-shih, that is, offering food, but there is another interpretation, namely "corpse," which also has the form szu-shih. This is what they call the

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[Note on foreign text p. 43 cont.] rather in order to give strangers a signal so that they will not be infected and will stay outside.

Word List

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Lama: lama; ho-shang (Chin.).
Lama of the Yellow Sect: gelõŋba (Tib.); sira lama.
Lama of the Red Sect: fulan lama.
Great lama: šge lama; ching-fa ta-ti lama (Chin.).
Small lama: mula lama.
Hutukhtu (6): sãŋ (10); šge sãŋ = great H.; mula sãŋ = small H.
huo-fuo (Chin.) = Living Buddha; fo-yeh = Buddha.

6. [Foreign text p. 42.] The common people know little about the hierarchy among the monks. They know great and small lamas. Among the great they count the hutukhtu, the tsũordzi and the kãnbõ. According to their conception, a great lama is especially learned, knows many magical practices, and therefore has special power. The small lamas have only a little learning and are able to perform only minor ceremonies, for instance, the obo prayer.

[775]

The hutukhtus are regarded as Buddhic incarnations. In this the common people do not differentiate between Buddhas and bodhisattvas. Among them everything is fuo-yeh, that is, Buddha-Father. They use this Chinese name for everything that is the seat of the spirit or a spirit itself, in other words, also for the incarnations

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[Note on foreign text p. 42 cont.]
(Tulkus), the spirit-spear, gods' statues with souls. Sometimes, for the sake of clarity, they designate the incarnations as huo-fuo (Chinese), that is, Living Buddha. The Tujen name purgan is usually used only for the spirits and the spirit seats with souls. Sometimes one hears the expression sãṅ or sãṅrẽ-dzi. I have never encountered the names Tulku, Hutukhtu, or Gegen, which in the Tujen language has the same meaning as sãṅ, the enlightened one.

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10. [Foreign text p. 43.] sãṅrẽdzi: Tibetan saṅs = pure, rgyas = spread out. -- ġdzo: Tibetan ġzo = to remind, to bring to mind; dãṅwu: Tibetan daṅ po = first time; niwa: Tibetan gñis pa = second time; gdzänba: Tibetan gsum pa = third time. -- simier: Tibetan šis = fortune, mar = butter. -- sidar: Tibetan šis = fortune, dar = silk cloth. -- sändzõṅ: Tibetan ts'em bzaṅ = cloth good. -- dõṅsär: Tibetan bdun = seven, gser = golden; the seven golden ones. -- lamar: Tibetan la = wax (from the Chinese), mar = butter. -- dordzi: Tibetan rdo = stone, rje = master. -- bosẽ: perhaps from the Mongolic; pũse = trade, business; cf. Chin. p'u-tzu. -- mäntsia: Tibetan maṅ = ample, ja = tea (Unkrig).

[40 cont.]

792 Lama-reception: lama ndziala.

792 Lama blessing: ndziärgän (Tib.) = in rows.

796 First fetching: ġdzõ dañwu (Tib. loanword) (10) [see Note on preceding page].

574 Second fetching: ġdzõ niwa (Tib. loanword) (10) [see Note 10 on preceding page].

Third fetching: ġdzõ ġdzämba (Tib. loanword) 10 [see Note 10 on preceding page].

192 262 Tsamba bowl with buttered slices: simier (10) [see Note 10 on preceding page].

796 Little plate with baked goods: sētoġ.

Sugar candy: ping-t'ang (Chin.).

Apple: hai-t'ang (Chin.).

Nuts: ho-t'ao (Chin.).

Dates: sa-tsao-êrh (Chin.).

Dry curds: tsũra (Tib., Tuj.).

Oil sticks: san-tzu (Chin.).

Filled loaves: taġur.

Oil pies: yü-pao-tzu (Chin.).

192 796 Speech hada: sidär (Tib. loanword) (10) [see Note 10 on preceding page].

Red cloth (which one presents to the lama): sändzõn (10) [see Note 10 on preceding page].

Grain with money: mbõ.

Loin of mutton (also the entire sheep): ndžuän.

[778] Torma: šdorma (Tib. loanword) (2) [see Note 2 above].

Little copper bowl with water, grain, etc.: dõnsär (Tib. loanword) (10) [see Note 10 on preceding page].

Butter-lamp: lamar (Tib. loanword) (10) [see Note 10 on preceding page].

[778] Holy water-can: wumbā (Tib. loanword).

Peacock's feather: k'un-ch'üo-mao (Chin.).

Thunderbolt: dordzi (Tib., Tuj.).

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[534] Hourglass drum: ndarë.

Mani-string: mani.

[41 cont.]

Prayer fee: bosē (10) [see Note 10 on p. 67].

Tea provided in the lamic monastery: māntsia (māndzia) (10) [see Note 10 on p. 67].

Taboo of the compound: udie dzilā-; chi-men (Chin.) = to forbid the door.

[Pages 41-43 contain the notes given above as numbered footnotes.]

[43] III. Customs concerning the Dwelling and Settlement

1. The Incense Sacrifice*

*See "Notes," pp. 46-49 [of the foreign text]. In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

Report

Every day at sunrise the house and yard are swept clean. The housewife fans the family fire on the kang, around which young and old gather during the day. The master of the house washes his hands and face (1), takes some coals from the fire,

1. [Foreign text p. 46.] This ablution is undertaken for all religious activities, and it is also the common way of washing oneself in the morning. Since wash-bowls are unknown or have been used only recently, it is done in the following way: one takes a mouthful of water from a bowl and rinses the mouth; then he

[43 cont.]

782 Time: The incense offering is to be given as early as possible, as soon as the morning twilight appears. One is not allowed to wait until the sun is high. Nowadays, even though [178] the families are no longer pious, [44] they will nonetheless give the incense offering at the least on the first, eighth, and fifteenth day of the lunar month. On these three days small butter- or [778] oil-lamps are also lighted in the house in front of the Buddha images.

782 Place: The usual place for the morning offering is the 778 yard. One may also go into the local temple or in front of the obo. This is also usually done on the above-mentioned three days. In the yard itself the fireplace is the incense plate on the central fort in front of the mani-pole (2). If there is no

[192]

[177]

2. [Foreign text p. 46.] The incense plate is called fdzañ tše = incense terrace. The Chinese call it sang lu-tzu = cypress-incense oven. In many instances, the Tujen have taken over the Chinese incense oven. It looks like a small temple. Frequently people also make do with a small clay niche. The incense plate on the edge of the round manger is either a stone plate, a brick (tile), or a smooth layer of clay.

incense plate, the master of the household burns the incense in the central fort (round manger) itself, or on the ground in front of it. Each time, however, the area must first be swept. Worship in front of the fire does not take place directly in front of it; instead people go around the round manger, so that the round manger with the mani-tree, then the fire, then the main house, and finally the mountains behind it are before one. The other persons are also there. No one may ever stand between the fire and the main house.

[44 cont.]

782 Instead of butter, dry cream may also be used, regardless of whether the milk was boiled or raw. If no tsamba happens to be on hand (5), burned wheat or barley flour is permitted, but

5. [Foreign text pp. 47-48.] Even today the Tujen kitchen cannot be imagined without tsamba. They roast ch'ing-k'o (Chinese) or šbē (Tuj.), that is, spelt, kiln-dried unripe grain, and grind it in a handmill. This roasted-grain flour is eaten exactly as among the Tibetans (Fandse). After the consumption of butter tea, tsamba is [48] kneaded into a dry dough in the tea bowl with the remainder of the tea and the butter floating on it, and it is then eaten in the form of little pellets or little sausages. -- The tsamba that is used for the incense offering, however, may not be kept with the ordinary tsamba. Every family has a special little box for it. -- Concerning šdē, ch'ing-k'o, cf. Schröder, "Wedding Songs," for further details.

[262] [252] [171] [264]

[783] [263] never bean flour, because it is unclean. In the case of the sugar, there are no special prescriptions concerning the color; therefore they usually take the red because it is cheaper than the white.

[439] [824] The spices that are scattered into the fire as a fragrant addition have been purchased in some Chinese apothecary shop. They are called "earth-god spices," or simply "addition" (4).

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4. [Foreign text p. 47.] The word rdzē, designated as a Tibetan loan-word, corresponds to rdsas (Unkrig); the equivalent given in the DMF, 'dre,

[44 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 47 cont.]
"evil spirit (?)" (p. 311), is misleading. Ch. Das (p. 1057) gives the meaning: "an article, thing, material, object" [cited in English], and further: de'i rdsas, "requisites for this purpose (sc., unclean matters); especially for sacrifices, sorceries, etc., hence also used as identical with magical agency" [cited in English]. This last signification is applicable to the accompanying gifts and offerings in connection with conjuring away demons; cf. rdzē in the chapters, "The Demon Escort," "The Figure Conjuring," etc. The explanation in the DMF (p. 311) is also in accord with this: "object that one releases with the aim of being freed from an evil (money or some other object is added to it), ransom" [translated from French]. rdzē, therefore, is to be understood in the very widest sense as outfit, utensils, provision of the gods (clothes, rings, viaticum), additions to the offering, etc., as is shown by the plethora of the incense gifts. These additions correspond extensively with the additions for the earth-god's urn (treasure urn), but they probably are to be traced back only to Lamaist influence, for in the Tujen songs that mention the incense offering they are never mentioned, in contrast to the tree of life, the water, and the flowers, which are never absent. The most important flower, mentioned again and again,

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[824]

[44 cont.]

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is the kanba; cf. Part Two, "The Incense Offering." This flower has a strong, very fragrant scent which can be perceived far and wide at the incense offering. The Tujen name corresponds with the Tibetan (Unkrig). Ch. Das (p. 140) translates k'am-pa as Tanacetum tomentosum and designates it as a "very aromatic plant growing in the high mountains of Tibet" [cited in English]. Dinand identifies the flower as the tansy, Tanacetum vulgare; cf. Handbuch der Heilpflanzen [Handbook of Medicinal Plants], p. 211, with illustration, Pl. XXIII, 2. According to G.A. Stuart, it belongs to the species Artemisia vulgaris, which is exceedingly aromatic. He distinguishes three kinds: Artemisia Indica, -- Sinensis (ai-hao), -- moxa; cf. Chinese materia medica, p. 52. -- From the use of the cypress and the flowers, one can conclude that from the outset the incense offering is to be conceived of, not as a burned offering, but as an aromatic offering. -- For further details concerning the incense offering, see Part Two. -- With respect to rdzē, cf. also the chapter, "The Earth-God Urn."

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They are the same kinds as those the lama mixes in at the consecration of the wumba-water. The Tujen names have been lost. In Tibetan they are called "the good six." There are the following kinds: cloves, saffron, cardamom, marl (?), nutmeg, camphor.

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Instead of the water, one can also squirt milk or barley wine into the fire. They are then no longer called milk or

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[Note on foreign text p. 49 cont.] this purificatory effect, however, but also the incense itself. This is shown by its name, "purity-wood," and by the use of bsañs as a verb, which, according to Ch. Das (p. 1316), means "to cleanse, to remove" [cited in English]. For this reason incense is also scattered in the water with the red-hot stone (ch'ü-t'an) that is used for cultic purification.

## Word List

•192 Cypress tree: šgua sdziõdzẽ (3) [see Note 3 above].
782 Cypress: šgua.
[824] Cypress incense: fdzañ (šdzañ, dzañ, sañ) (Tib. loanword).
Tsamba offering: fdzañ sdzam (Tib. loanword).
Tsamba (profane): talġa (11).

11. [Foreign text p. 49.] talġa: Tib. t'al ba or t'al k'a = powder, dust, ash; Mong. talxa = flour, rye flour, barley flour.

ġlu-smãn: Tib. klu sman = the dragon medicine, bot. Angelica. There are four kinds, of which the black and the white are the best. The white Angelica is used against sickness from the earth-dragon. In Mongolic it is called luus-un em = dragon-medicine.

[824]
[757]

snaġsog: Tib. sna = many, and ts'ogs = kind. lisi = Tib. li-šiṅ = Carophyllus. gušgum: Tib. gur-gum = saffron, crocus. sẽsmiel: Tib. sug-smel (rmel) = cardamom; Chin. pai-tou kuan

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[45 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 49 cont.]
(white bean-tressel). gagula: Tib. ka ko la = Amomum medium; Chin. ts'ao-kuo (straw-fruit). dzati: Tib. dsa tsi (Sanskr.) = nutmeg. ġawur: Tib. ga-bur (Sanskr.) = camphor (Unkrig).

Spices: ġlu (ġlo, ġlē) sēmān; ġlu (Tib. loanword) = earth-god;
sēmān (Tib. loanword) = medicine, spice (11) [see Note 11 above].

Kānba flowers: kānba.

Incense additions: rdzē (Tib. loanword) = additions, things.
snaġsoġ fdzañ rdzē (Tib. loanword) = many kinds of incense additions (4), (11) [see Notes 4 and 11 above].

Cloves: lisi (Tib.); ting hsiang (Chin.) (11) [see Note 11 above].

Saffron: gušgum (Tib.); tsang hung-hua (Chin.) (11) [see Note 11 above].

Cardamom: sësmiel (Tib.); i-chi-jen (Chin.) (11) [see Note 11 above].

Marl: gagula (Tib); ts'ao-kuo (Chin.) (11) [see Note 11 above].

Nutmeg: dzati (Tib.); jou-kuo (Chin.) (11) [see Note 11 above].

Camphor: ġawur (Tib.); ping-p'ien (Chin.) (11) [see Note 11 above].

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Milk (profane): sun.

Libation: tsiab (tsiaw) (Tib.) (6) [see Note 6 above].

[534] Conch: doñ (Tib. loanword) = trumpet, horn (7) [see Note 7 above].

Heaven, you know it: tiengērē mudie.

[372] Purification-fire: sündur (Tib. loanword).

[51 cont.]

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5. [Foreign text p. 53.] The informant firmly insisted upon this statement, although the consecration, beribboning, mirror, and bells seem to argue that the arrow is a seat of the spirit.

777 house, namely, during the wedding. While the bride, amidst
*778 the weeping and wailing of the women, is led out to the thresh-
585 ing floor and mounts the riding animal, the father takes the arrow of good fortune and runs back and forth with it behind the bride, calling out the name of his daughter, who is led on the riding animal three times around the threshing floor before she rides off. The father wants to keep back the good fortune.

[52] The arrow holds together the good fortune and well-
[171] being of the household, as do the god of wealth and the treasure-
[432] urn among the Chinese. For that reason something is held back as "seed" and "root" from everything that is sold and attached to the arrow or added to the urn (6). With her marriage, the

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6. [Foreign text pp. 53-55.] One receives differing information among the people concerning the word yãṅsdzia. Some say yãṅ means "good fortune," whereas the informant subscribes more to the meaning "germ," root, seed, guarantee of good fortune." In the region of Bengbar (Hsi-ch'uan) the arrow is called yãṅbõ. The ... bõ could not be explained by anyone. The people derived the yãṅ from the Tibetan and said it meant "good fortune." Undoubtedly it is identical with the Tibetan g.yaṅ. The Chinese word ying-pao mentioned by F. Lessing (Yung Ho Kung, p. 139) is phonetically very reminiscent of the designation yãṅbõ. The Tujen have a third expression for

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[Note on foreign text p. 53-55 cont.]
the arrow of good fortune in the word yañdar. They interpret the yañ as "good fortune" and the dar as "to increase." The old man, however, would not let the dar be applied to the entire arrow, but only to the hada attached to it, and he is correct in this, for dar in Tibetan signifies "cloth, silk." He stated that the whole thing, including the urn, is always only called yañsdzia. It is unclear to me what the sdzia in this combination actually means. It is doubtful that it is a literary botching of mda', "arrow."

In order to determine the meaning of the arrow of good fortune in more detail, it is best to start from the Tib. word g.yaṅ. According to Ch. Das, the sense of wealth, fullness of life, treasures, state of well-being is connected with g.yaṅ. This is apparent from the corresponding combinations with g.yaṅ (cf. pp. 1149ff.). The very essence of good fortune, however, seems to be the sheep; metaphorically it is simply called g.yaṅ-dkar, "the white good-fortune." White is also the color of good fortune. But how, then, is the arrow of good fortune to be comprehended as the carrier of good fortune?

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Its peculiar character becomes clearest at the wedding ceremony. When the bride departs from the parental house and is led three times around the threshing floor on horseback, the father of the bride runs behind the bride three times

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[Note on foreign text p. 53-55 cont.]
or vital forces (rasayana, Tib. bcud len, Mong. sime, shime) of heaven and earth, sun and moon, rivers and lakes, trees and herbs" [cited in English]. This corresponds precisely to the above-mentioned wedding ceremony of the Tujen at the departure of the bride, where likewise "the germs, vital force" are conjured in song onto the arrow with which the father runs behind the bride.

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The Tujen word for this "germ, seed," etc. in the songs is furie; cf. Schröder, Hochzeitslieder" [Wedding Songs]. furie is the Mongolic üre (DMF, p. 111) and in meaning corresponds, like sime, to the Tibetan bcud in bcud len. len signifies "to seize, to grasp, to gather" (Ch. Das, p. 1220), and bcud, "sap, moistness, essence, force," etc. (p. 394). The meaning that my informant gave for the word yän is identical with this; cf. above. With regard to the expression bcud-len, Ch. Das writes (p. 394): "the art of extracting essences for prolonging health and longevity, such essences as being of different kinds ..." [cited in English]. He also mentions in particular the earth-force: "sa-yi bcud, the essence of the earth, by which the produce of the field, medicinal plants and precious metals and stones, etc., are said by Tibetans to be produced; therefore this essence is the natural fecundity of the soil ..." [cited in English]. More about this in another place (in the myth about the origin of agriculture).

[585] bride leaves the family, but it is desired that good fortune and wealth should not leave the home with her. For that reason clothing and bits of hair are also preserved on the arrow.

[52 cont.]

Word List

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777 Arrow: sēmu.
Arrow tip: timurdē.
*778 Arrow feathering: sēmu fodie.
Arrow of good fortune: yãńsdzia (1) (6) [see Note 6 above].

1. [Foreign text p. 52.] yãńsdzia: Tib. g, yaṅ = good fortune, mda' = arrow. yãńdžēw: Tib. g, yaṅ (the same), skyob = to protect. An offering to guarantee good fortune is designated by it. yãńbo (-po): seems to be connected with the Tib. g, yaṅ-bum = urn of good fortune (Unkrig).

Urn: p'endzē (Chin.).
Urn with grain: yãṅ-džēw = to fill with good-fortune seeds (Tib. loanword) (1) [see Note 1 above].
To fill the urn: yãńdzēwrē ġada = to fill up with seed stuffing.
Attachments: yãṅ rdzē = seed attachments (additions).
Hada: kadaġ (Tib.).
Cloth remnants: sdziedzē dzūldēgān = cloth remnants of all kinds.
Mane hairs: dzãṅgãṅ; tsung-kang (Chin.).
Black hairs: sul.
Ball of hair: fudzē sdzialaġ = downy-hair ball.
Sheep wool: ṅġuasē.
Consecrating prayer: yãńpo dgē (Tib. loanword) = arrow-of-good-fortune prayer (1) [see Note 1 above].
To prepare the arrow: ilieni yãńsdziarē fuya = to tie everything to the arrow of good fortune.

[Pages 52-55 contain the notes given as numbered footnotes.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 60 cont.] that this disk represented the wreath of rays of the stars. Sometimes one also hears that it represents the earth-disk. -- He designated the small round piece set on the sun as a star; accordingly, sun, moon, and stars would be on the tip. Nothing is known among the people about the other explanations of the Lamaistic occult interpretations, such as that of the sun as tilaka, of the moon sickle as bindu (drops), and of the attached piece as a flame-shaped nāda (sacrificial cry), etc. Cf. Note 9.

piece and the vertical disk are painted with a red color, for instance, red clay. The moon sickle is white. -- In place of this cut-out sun-moon tip, one can also tie a bundle of cypress twigs to the pole; this is also done later with the same ceremonies.

The cover: The cover, which covers the connection of the tip and the end of the pole, is sewed together out of five rings of cloth. Each ring has its own color. The cover is about 30 to 50 centimeters long and is adjusted according to the thickness of the tree. There are no regulations concerning the origin and nature of the material, but the cloth must be clean and whole. Both men and women may sew this cover, but usually the men do it. After the sewing, the cover is fumigated in the incense and placed on the household altar (6).

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6. [Foreign text pp. 60-61.] The name of the cover is apparently nothing but a literary botching of the Tibetan rgyal-mts'an (pronounced rdzial-), of the victory-ornament

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[Note on foreign text p. 60-61 cont.]
(cf. Filchner, Unkrig, p. 21) that is part of the eight offerings (mc'od brgyad). Ch. Das (p. 313) explains the rgyal-mts'an (Sanskritic dhvajā) as a war banner or victory sign of Buddhism; it is the official standard of the Buddhists. One often finds it as garment trimming in various colors or as a cloth cylinder on flagpoles or on a post. Sometimes it is made of brass or wood. Furthermore, Ch. Das cites 11 kinds of rgyal-mts'an in Tibetan Buddhism, which fight the demonic powers.

The Chinese translation san (screen) might be misleading and point to the first of the eight offerings, the white screen, gdugs dkar (Sanskritic chattra); cf. Ch. Das, p. 69 (bkra 'sis ...), and Filchner, Unkrig, p. 21. -- The Tujen do not differentiate precisely here.

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The multicolored cover is found in the most diverse varieties: [61] as column drapes in the temples, as gigantic cloth bells or screens, on ceremonial standards, on trident masts, as curtains, etc. In other words, it does not represent a peculiarity of the mani-tree. Because the rgyal-mts'an also occurs as garment trimming (cf. above), the colorful ring-trimming on the sleeves of the Tujen costume is probably connected with it, which, indeed, is often drawn on as a cloth funnel.

[291]

The mani-flag: The flag consists of a long piece of white cloth. Usually it is cotton cloth, which can be bought in town. It should always be new and faultless. One leaves the original width of the cloth as it is, in other words, about 30 to 50 centimeters. The length depends on the mani-mast, for the flag is

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*778 attached to the tree along the long side. On the average the length is 150 to 200 centimeters. The master of the household first takes this bolt of cloth to a lamic monastery where it is [782] printed with prayers and the picture of an air-horse in the monastery press, only on one side, however. About three-quarters of the flag is covered with prayers, and the lowest quarter with the air-horse. At home the man or the woman then sews a row of strings on one long side, with which the flag is tied to the pole. [58]. The other long side, fluttering in the breeze, is [822] provided with five tabs of cloth in the five sacred colors. The length depends on the flag. Usually they are about two fingers wide and a finger long. They may be quadrangular or triangular. The flag is likewise fumigated and placed next to the cover on the household altar. For these tabs, too, there are no regulations concerning the origin and nature of the material (7).

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7. [Foreign text p. 61.] The mani-flag has various names; cf. below, Note 10. All these names apply in the first place to the horse-image, then to the flag, and finally to the entire tree. The image is the most important, especially when one considers that paper images are also in use.

*778 796 782 On every flag or every image there are the most varied sayings and representations, in Tibetan or Chinese or Mongolic. Sometimes the horse also bears on its back the sign of good fortune, nuru. These paper horses play [171] an important role in the ceremony of releasing the horses, which is performed by the Tujen as well as by the Chinese and Tibetans. This ceremony is practiced at certain times of the year, for instance, in the month of the

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*778 [777] [772] Meaning: The mani-tree guarantees good fortune and peace for the household, yard, and people. The air-horse is a symbol of fate. On its back it bears the precious stone of good fortune: nuru. The tree represents the world-mountain. Around its peak circle sun, moon, and stars, and below lies the world with the people, with house and yard and herds (9).

[351]

9. [Foreign text pp. 61-62.] This explanation by the informant indicates that only with the raising of the mani-pole is the compound complete, part of the world order, as is also expressed in other songs. It is based upon the Lamaistic conception of the world, according to which the world-mountain is in the center and everything else is situated around it. Among the lamas one always finds this interpretation, as it is presented symbolically in the monogram found everywhere, the nantšu wañdañ. To be sure, the Tujen know nothing of the detailed interpretations of this monogram (cf. Note 3), nor of the parallel between this cosmic interpretation and the human body. -- Here it should also be noted that in this symbol the flat disk under the moon sickle is lacking, and furthermore that the colors are different; the small flame on the sun is green, the sun itself white, the moon-sickle red; cf. Unkrig in Filchner: Kumbum, pp. 160-161.

[192]

[62] The word sdzi-ñkuor and the informant's translation, "center-round," phonetically and semantically give precisely the Tibetan word dkyil 'k'or; cf. DMF, p. 387, and Ch. Das, p. 56.

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[Note on foreign text pp. 61-62 cont.] The various meanings of dkyil 'k'or are given there, particularly as the equivalent of the Sanskritic word mandala, the magical circles and figures and representations of the divine dwellings, etc. (cf. the chapter, "The Pole-Goat"); furthermore, for the conception of the universe under consideration here, "According to the Buddhist cosmogony there are sa-yi dkyil 'k'or the sphere of earth, c'u-yi dkyil 'k'or the sphere of water, the ocean, rluñ-gi dkyil 'k'or the atmosphere, me-yi dkyil 'k'or the sphere of fire; each forming a stratum over the other. The upper stratum, i.e. that which is beyond the atmosphere, is called the sphere of fire or light [cited in English] (Ch. Das, loc. cit.). If one puts this orthodox Lamaist explanation beside the old man's explanation, he sees how indigenous and alive this conception is among the Tujen, how it is literally built into the existential sphere.

* 778
772
782

The air-horse does not really seem to belong in this conceptual picture, and it could not be learned from the informant what the air-horse, in other words, the mani-flag, has to do with the world mountain, why it is attached to it. He thought that it would hang high on it and could flutter well in the wind, and, with its prayer and magical formulas, it would be the same as a prayer-mill that is likewise turned by the wind on the roof. Other

[59 cont.]

*778
772
782

[775]

[Note on foreign text pp. 61-62 cont.] explanations do not connect the air-horse with the round manger, either. Thus, one can hear that the magical formulas and prayers are carried to heaven on the air-horse. Others, again, believe that the air-horses are ridden by the wandering restless spirits and souls of the dead; in this way they would find the right way and come to rest. According to them, this is also the reason why these paper horses are released in such large numbers. Then the spirits are appeased and would no longer visit and molest human beings.

•192
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## Word List

(Cf. the drawing)

The mani-tree (tree and flag together): dardzioǧ (Tib.).
The mast: dardzioǧ gändzẽ (Chin.); mani-kan-tzu (Chin.).
The sun: nara.
The moon: sara.
For the round disk and the piece on the sun there are no specified Tujen names.
The cover: rdziala ntsam (Tib.); san (Chin.) = screen (6) [see Note 6 above].
The flag: dardzioǧ (Tib.); ta-ch'iu (Chin.); ki mori = air horse;
loňšda (Tib.); lu-ma (Chin.) = horse of good fortune;
lung-ma (Chin.) = dragon-horse (10).

10. [Foreign text pp. 62-63.] loňšda is the Tibetan rluň rta, air-horse; ki-mori is the literal Tujen translation of it.

[59 cont.]

[Note on foreign text pp. 62-63 cont.]

●192
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[773]

Concerning its meaning as "fate," cf. Part Two, II, 1, c. -- Perhaps the Chinese lung-ma is also only a phonetic imitation of this Tibetan rluṅ (air), which perhaps came about because the dragon-horse, which likewise is called lung-ma, appears in legends and tales as a wonder horse. In the Sining chronicle, in the chapter on the Koko Nor Lake, there is a passage concerning this dragon-horse. In certain times the T'u-yü-hun were supposed to drive their horses (quite bad ones, too) into the lake, and they would then couple with the dragon. The horses descended from them were supposed to be able to cover thousands of miles in a day.

[782]
[171]

For the paper prints of the air-horses the Chinese usually say lu-ma (good-luck horses). They claim that the above-mentioned "releasing" of these horses, fang lu-ma, is an old Chinese custom, whereas the Tujen, Fandse, and lamas claim it as their own tradition. -- In addition, the Chinese have gold-yellow paper leaves attached to house gates, animals, etc., which they burn on various occasions. They are called chih-ma [63] (paper-horses) or piao-ma (leaf-horses). Although there is no horse-image on it, many people derive the ...ma from "horse."

The ta-ch'iu is a Chinese literary botching of dardzioġ; one hears this expression mostly in the region of Tangkar. dardzioġ corresponds to the Tibetan dar lcog (DMF, p. 44); according to Ch. Das

[59 cont.]

●192
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[Note on foreign text pp. 62-63 cont.] this means "silk" and "tip" and is "a flag-staff about 10 or 12 feet high ... on house-tops, piles of stone, or on votive cairns" (p. 620) [cited in English].

The flag tabs: dardzioġ kilie = mani-flag tabs [Zungen, literally "tongues"].
Blue sky: kuġuo tieṅgĕre.
White clouds: tsiġan uloṅ.
Yellow lama: sira lama.
Red lama: fulan lama.
Green earth: noġuon yāsĕ = green grass.
The round manger: yūăn dzuor = round manger; yūan-ts'ao (Chin.) = round manger; sdziṅkuor (Tib.) = center-round (9) [see Note 9 above].
The incense plate: fdzaṅ tsĕ = incense-terrace.
The central urn (that is, central fort): lawum-ġluwum (Tib.) = spirit-urn -- earth-god-urn.
The four little urns: sĕnog-der (snaġ-der) = magical urns (11).

11. [Foreign text p. 63.] sĕnoġder: Tibetan snags = magical saying, spell formula, gter = treasure, storage chamber. Meaning: magical treasure chamber (Unkrig).

[Pages 60-63 contain the notes given above as numbered footnotes.]

*778

[63] The Obo*

* See "Notes," pp. 68-71 [of the foreign text]. [In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

[67 cont.]

Word List

192
778 Obō: laŝdzē (lawdzē, ladzē) (Tib. loanword) (7).
mao-chi (Chin.);these are the signs for reed - good fortune.
[776] Shan-shen (Chin.) = mountain-spirit (7).

7. [Foreign text p. 70.] The statement of the old man that the expression obō is unknown in his region was surprising to me. I found it confirmed; at least it is not used among the Tujen there, which is all the more surprising since the Chinese use the word obō the most. The Tujen almost exclusively use the Tibetan loanword laŝdzē (or lawdzē). Farther away, to be sure, there are Tujen who are familiar with both designations; laŝdzē is nothing other than the Tibetan la-rtse, "mountain top," according to Ch. Das (p. 1200): "the summit of a pass." The relationship to the cult of heights and the mountain-spirit is clear. -- Besides the foreign word obō (Mong. obuġa, DMF 296) the Chinese also have the name mao-chi.

The Chinese expression mao-chi has no logical meaning in itself. In the Tangkar chronicle I saw for it the sign for reeds (mao) and good fortune (chi); there are also other ways of writing it. This shows that a phonetic imitation of a foreign word is involved here. The original word for it, however, cannot be determined. In the region of the Chia-Hsifan around Kumbum the name shan-shen, that is, mountain-spirit, is used the most. With it the Chinese simply identify the obo with the spirit, which corresponds with the situation, since it is in fact the seat of the mountain spirit.

[776]

[67 cont.]

●192 Obo mountain: lawdzë ūla.

*778 To erect obo: lawdzë paġguni.

Obo pit: lawdzë nukuo.

Stone mound: taše soġdō.

Obo frame: lawdzë dziadzë (Chin.).

Whitewashing: tsiġandë budë.

Contents of the obo pit: rdzë.

[782] Votive offerings for the obo: lawdzë šdodlōdzān ntsuomdzia = weapons placed on the obo.

Spear: dzida.

Sword: wōldë.

Tree twigs: sdziōdzë aralaġ = (poplar) twigs;
šgua aralaġ = cypress twigs;
tāṅgëraġ aralaġ = fir branches.

Sheep wool: nġuasë.

Silk threads: torġuo šdadzë = silk threads.

Little white stones: mulġan (mula) tsiġan tašë.

Spear tassel: dzida mān dzioġ.

[68]

Grain: dzūldë tara = all kinds of grain.

Sugar: ġarā.

Gold: xaldān.

Silver: miēṅgu.

Mani-string: lang-sheng (Chin.) = wolf string.
kimori bōdoġ = air-horse string.

Obo call: garu (Tib.) lawdzë yara (Tib.).
šdo-o-od = the white obo from below I throw at (8).

8. [Foreign text p. 71.]
mändzioġ: Tibetan lcog = pennant, pinnacle, peak. The mān seems to come from the Chinese mang = pennant.
-- garu lawtsë yäre šdodla (obo call): Tibetan dkar (pronounced gar) = white,

[68 cont.]

• 192
*778

[Note on foreign text p. 71 cont.]
la rtse – obo, yar = upward, stod la = upward, to place on top. -- rĕdziŏn: Tibetan žon = to ride. -- yifula: Tibetan ri bo = mountain, hill, lha = spirit. -- ndziġdien: Tibetan 'jig = transitoriness, rten = container. A Buddhistic mode of expression for the world: the ten containers of transitoriness (Unkrig).

Little stonepiles: lawdzĕ dzidziġa = obo chicks.

Obo sheep-offering: lawdzĕ tada xoni šĕnlie = to sacrifice a sheep before the obo.

[782] The lama prays before the obo: lama lawdzĕ tada mošguni.

The offerings: yilenĕ šĕnlie = total offerings.

To dwell at the obo: lawdze tada sŏ-.

To set up a tent: bekārge posġuo-.

[541] Horse racing: mori holilġa = to make horses race.

Whose horse is fast: kāni mori gurdā?

[526] Shooting competition: sēmu sēmuda- = to shoot arrows.

Whose skill with weapons is great: kāni xuawu šgewa?

The young people wrestle: mula kunsgĕ walde-.

Whose strength is great: kāni kudzi šgewa?

Large and small sing together: šge mulasgĕ nigĕ dōlā-.

Whose songs are many: kāni dō uluona?

[541] Obo horse-racing: lawdzĕ šda rĕdziŏn (Tib. (8) [see Note 8 above].

[527] Obo festival: lawdzĕ šdodlō, mori holġani = to make the horses run pelting the obo.

[621] [757] The obo protects human beings: lawdzĕ ayili kun, ase, mulā-sēla, nasā, ġuosāni furŏnlāni = the obo of the village (kin group) protects human beings, animals, little children, from epidemics and strife.

[776] The mountain-spirit: yifu la (Tib.) (8) [see Note 8 above].

[68 cont.]

192
*778

The game is cared for by the mountain-spirit: lawdzë udaġladzān sōwa (or fsūārēġwa) = birds (or game) are ruled by the obo.
The dog of the mountain-spirit (wolf): yifulani noxuę.
The old people relate legends: šdogu kunsgë xuęńge gulie-.
Whose legends are many: kāni xuę uluona?
Large and small drink barley wine: šge mulā dërasēńgë udzi-.
Today is good: niudurġuo dur sēna.
In conviviality let us sit together: suġdzieńge sōldeya!
One does not know today what tomorrow will be: niudurë malōńguni li mudien.
With death it is all over: fugugë bura dzia.
We come into the world for nothing: ndziġdienë (8) [see Note 8 above]) arāń nigë huę rēdziā- (nigë xue = once).

[Pages 68-71 contain the notes given above as numbered footnotes.]

[71] 5. The Chorten Chamber*

*778
346

* See "Notes," pp. 77-79 [of the foreign text]. [In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

Report

[621]
[351]

In each Tujen village and sometimes also in individual compounds there is a chorten chamber. The actual name is hundred-thousand-house. This chamber looks like a small temple without doors. In it there are several sacred urns, which are buried under 100,000 small clay cones. In this cone-mountain is stuck the column of the sky, which is covered with all kinds of blessing formulas.

[71 cont.]

346 *778 [621] [792] The chorten chamber is erected by the entire village. Everyone must give a hand. The lama comes and prays for seven days, makes a series of tormas, and manufactures the urns. On the seventh day the chorten chamber is built. Only little windows are left in it. In front of the chorten chamber the men burn incense and move in a circle around the chamber as at the obo. Through the window holes they then again throw in little chorten.

[621] [777] The chorten chamber protects the village and the family from misfortune. It represses the evil earth-influences. [Fig. 8 appears here.]

## Details

[361] [791] Place: The chorten chamber is always erected outside the compound and outside the village. No attention is paid to paths. The place is more precisely designated by the soothsayer, not by the lama.

[72] Form: The groundplan of the chorten chamber is rectangular. Its size varies greatly. There are small chambers as high as a man and large ones with beautiful tile roofs and columned porticoes. There is never a door in the wall. Only at head level are square peepholes left, an ell square. There is no sun-moon disk on the roof, such as is otherwise common on temples. Usually a beautiful incense oven stands before the chamber. -- There are many kinds of chorten chambers. The one here is the most common; it is called "house-chamber," for there are also some that are not roofed (1).

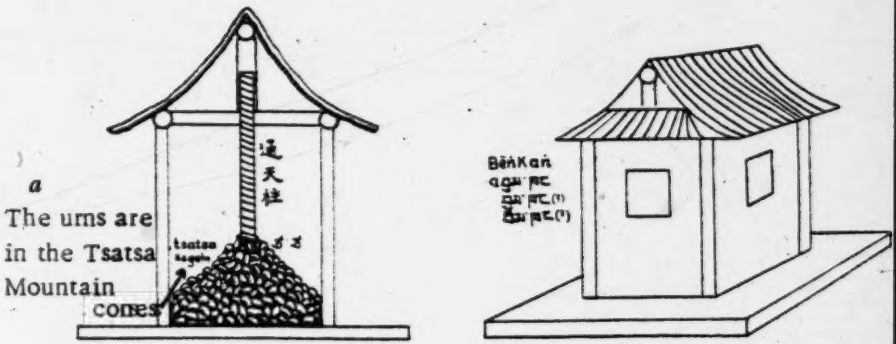
[192]

1. [Foreign text pp. 77-78.] According to the informant, bẽn designates the same thing as the Tibetan 'bum (in many places also pronounced bẽn), that is, 100,000. kãn is the Tibetan word for house, but it can also mean temple, for example, in the word sdienkãn.

[72 cont.]

346
*778
192

[Note on foreign text pp. 77-78 cont.] Accordingly, beň-kaň would mean: the chamber of the 100,000, or more freely and with reference to the sasa contained in it, chamber of the countless sasa, chorten chamber. In the DMF biňkaň stands for it, with the explanation: "small temple with four doors, where one puts the idols and religious objects that one no longer wants to keep in the house (it is usually built at the exit of a village or at a crossroads)" [translated from French]. Cf. Tib. bank'aň, "store-room, treasury" [cited in English]. -- According to all the information available to me, the beňkaň never has a door; the informant




a; Chorten chamber inside; b. chorten chamber outside.

also definitely denies that superfluous cult objects that one no longer wants to keep at home are put in it. The name might better be derived from bum-k'aň, "urn-house." bum-k'aň, namely, is also the central part of a chorten, which, of course, is urn-shaped.

[72 cont.]

346
*1778
192

[Note on foreign text pp. 77-78 cont.] According to W.A.Unkrig, the Mongolic rendering of it is bum-xan. In Mongolic linguistic usage this would be the same as cara-ĭngĕr, with which a cremation house is designated, literally, "house of the frying pan" (communication). But even this interpretation seems doubtful.

The informant is probably correct with his explanation: bẽṅ = 'bum = 100,000, countless; and bẽṅkã̀ṅ = house of the countless (chorten). In the literature "Ts'a ts'a house" is used for it, for instance, A. Tafel, Tibetreise [Tibet Journey], II, p. 265. To be sure, Ch. Das, too, speaks not of a 'bum-k'aṅ, but of a ts'a-k'aṅ: "place, where ts'a-ts'a are kept" (p. 1017) [cited in English]. In general, these little clay cones are stored in huge quantities in chorten or dwellings, etc., and A. Tafel would like to connect this custom with the Bon religion; cf. op. cit., pp. 198, 265. At any rate, the popular belief of the Tujen ascribes great power to these ts'a-ts'a. Concerning the significance of the ts'a-ts'a in Buddhism proper, cf. the relevant works by Tucci.

Nothing specific, however, is designated by the name bẽṅkã̀ṅ; it is only a generic concept. As the lamas in the Mongol lamasery Dsadsang near Tangkar and in Kumbum say, there are two groups of bẽṅkã̀ṅ. First there are those without walls and roof, for example: loġ-loġ (a kind of stone pyramid); ndõṅ-ndõṅ; serwdziãl. Secondly, those with walls and

[72 cont.]

346
*778
●192

[Note on foreign text pp. 77-78 cont.] a roof, such as dzẽw-yi and ger-kaṅ. The kaṅ described here is this ger-kaṅ. Actually this name is a tautology, for ger is Mongolic and means house (tent), in other words, the same as the Tibetan kaṅ. Besides these names, there are other special designations for beṅkaṅ, such as mani beṅkaṅ, tsãla beṅkaṅ, dsõma beṅkaṅ, maridzë beṅkaṅ. Unfortunately all these types could not be inquired into precisely [78], nor likewise the meaning of the name and the contents of the beṅkaṅ. The many rëduombeṅ (7) [see Note 7 below], pyramid-like stonepiles which hold down evil demons, as is also reported in the Tujen myth of the female man-eater Mãngudzë, probably also belong among the beṅkaṅ. For this function the Chinese have the expression pu mei-ch'i, that is, to plug up the (earth)veins' breath.

*778 Time: The chorten chamber may be erected at any time of the year, although the frost-free period is preferred because of the work on the walls. The soothsayer designates the specific [791] day and hour. -- The preparation, however, takes many weeks because the building material, the urns, and the clay cones must be manufactured. In addition, a small village festival [527] is always connected with the erection and for that reason the time after the harvest is preferred.

[621] Persons? All the persons of the village take part in the
476 preparations, men, women, and children. The leader divides
[562] the work among the individual families. At the erection and the consecrating ceremonies, however, only men are active. Women
[792] are kept away. -- The consecration of the urns and the service

[74 cont.]

*778

[Note on foreign text p. 78 cont.] noteworthy that at all times the orientation of the tree as it grew must be preserved. -- Nothing further was learned about the name soń-siń. The Chinese expression t'ung t'ien-chu, which is doubtless much more appropriate, is also used there for the center column in Lamaistic temples and for the center pole of the tent. In southern Kansu a large monolith bearing the same name stands somewhere in the mountains, as I was told by a missionary who was an eye-witness. This center pole plays a well-known role in the west of China, so nothing further need be said about it here.

[192]

The chorten: The chorten have the form of small clay cones and look like large eight-turreted chorten. The Chinese call them "red clay clods." Altogether there are supposed to be 100,000 little cones, but this number is not always adhered to, especially if the village is small. Three to four months beforehand, these little clay cones are poured into special wooden molds. The village elders apportion the number for each family.

[624]

The under-surfaces of the still damp little forms are tamped on Tibetan barley and incense which remain stuck to them as they dry. The average size is about the length of a finger; there are also larger ones (4). -- The finished chorten

[192]

4. [Foreign text p. 78.] With reference to the Fandse language, sasa is also pronounced dzadza (ts'a-ts'a). These clay cones not only have the shape (even if only roughly) of chorten, but they also frequently represent sacred figures which, according to the old man's

[76 cont.]

*7178
171

[Note on foreign text p. 79 cont.] connected with the erection of the chamber no inner relationship to the content finds expression. These are the same customs that are practiced in connection with all housebuilding by the Tsinghai Chinese.

## Word List

•192
*7178

Chorten chamber: bẽṅkãṅ (Tib. loanword) = countless chamber (house) (1) [see Note 1 above]. ger-kãṅ, ger (Tuj.) = house, kãṅ = chamber. ma-ni lou (Chin.) = mani-house (high house).

Sky column: sõṅ-siṅ (Tib. loanword) - protective tree (wood) (7). t'ung-t'ien chu (Chin.) = to connect sky column.

7. [Foreign text p. 79.] sõṅ siṅ: Tibetan skyoṅ = to preserve, protect, siṅ = wood. -- sasa: Tibetan ts'a ts'a = little conical clay cones. -- sena: Tibetan sna = group, category. -- šder: Tibetan gser = gold. -- wsirẽ: Tibetan byi-ru (pronounced šuru) = coral. -- sõdãṅ: could ~~come~~ from the Chinese (?). ts'u-t'ang - vinegar-pool. -- sguora: Tibetan skor ba = to circle around. -- rẽduombẽṅ: Tibetan rdõ = stone, 'bum = 100,000 (Unkrig).

Clay chorten, clay cone: sasa (Tib. loanword), tza-tza (4) [see Note 4 above].

[76 cont.]

792 hung ni-tan-tzu (Chin.) = red clay clods.

*778 Gaps in the wall: tsiãṅguãṅ = windows.

The great urn: lha-wum (Tib.) = spirit urn (receptacle).

ġlo-wum (Tib.) = earth-god urn.

ġlo-wum goṅluo (Tuj.) = earth-god urn receptacle.

The small urns: snoġ dẽr (Tib. loanword) = magic-urn.

Contents of the receptacle: rdzẽ (Tib.).

yang-wu (Chin.) = things.

Mountain-earth: sa-sena (Tib.) (7) [see Note 7 above]; siru = earth.

Water: tsũ-sena (Tib.); fdzẽ = water.

Wood: siṅ sena (Tib.); mõdẽ = wood.

Buddha gold: šdzer (7) [see Note 7 above]; sädoġ (Tib.).

Mother of pearl ? wsirẽ (Tib.) (7) [see Note 7 above]; shan-hu (Chin.) = coral.

Precious stone: mädoġ (Tib.) = flower; chen-chu = jewel.

Earth-god spice: ġlo-smãn (Tib. loanword).

Little water-bowl: doṅsär (Tib. loanword).

Black incense: gukual

hei-hsiang (Chin.).

[782] Prayer of consecration: rami.

Red earth: fulan siru; huang-tan (Chin.) = yellow ocher.

[77]

[789] Magic formulas: snaġ (snoġ).

Mandala drawing: sdzi ṅkuor (Tib. loanword).

Ridge-piece: chung-leang (Chin.) = center beam.

Red-hot stone: ts'u-t'an, ch'ü-t'an (Chin.); sõdãṅ; sõdäṅ (7) [see Note 7 above].

Procession around the chorten chamber: sguora (Tib. loanword).

[Pages 77-79 contain the notes given above as numbered footnotes. This section ends on p. 79, and the next section begins on p. 620.]

[621 cont.]

852 553 take no further notice of this ceremony, but drink and dance far into the night; then they gradually scatter. Only the closest relatives of the young mother stay until the next day.

[622]

Word List

● 192 846 To be in childbed: sara sõdzi = she sits out the month; tsuo yüeh (Chin.).

To terminate the confinement: sara durgeni = she terminates the month.

ch'u-yüeh (Chin.) = to step out of the month.

man-yüeh (Chin.) = to fulfill the month.

[852] Reception of the shepherd: asdzi dzēlie-; ying-yang (Chin.) = to welcome the sheep.

[Page 622 contains the notes given above as numbered footnotes.]

852 527

## 2. The First Birthday*

* See "Notes," pp. 623-625 [of the foreign text]. [In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

### Report

[787] [302] [778] On the first birthday the father puts the child on the kang and places various things before it. From the object that the child grasps it can be seen what it will become in later life. After that its hair is cut and this is hung on the arrow of good fortune.

[623 cont.]

852
171

[Note on foreign text pp. 624-625 cont.] down again and grasped a seal. She then no longer paid any attention to the things that lay before her. And now the result: this girl became chancellor of an imperial realm." -- The oracle at this birthday celebration corresponds essentially with that of the Tujen.

527

The Tujen celebrate birthdays otherwise, too, both men and women, but only from the forty-fifth year on. A feast is held, at which all the relatives take part. As presents, nine loaves of bread are customary. Eight steamed loaves signify the eight genii, pa-hsien, and one loaf represents the god of age, shou-hsing (star of age). Towards sundown, all go outside to the graves and give the ancestral offering. Then they go home and drink and dance into the night. -- As the names show, this custom is also borrowed from the Chinese. The Tujen originally had no ancestral offering; to the Chinese, on the other hand, the arrow of good fortune and the dance with song are foreign.

[769]

[177]
[769]

192

Word List

[844] To give birth: tōrō-.
[527] Birthday: tōrōdzān udur; or contracted, tōrōdzūdur.
To celebrate the birthday: tōrōdzūdur noġdzi-.
That woman has given birth: nie bieri tōrōdzia.
When were you born? tsini kidzie tōrōwa?
Yes, I am really celebrating: noġdzidza ligunadzi.

192
776
[623 cont.]
The three world-spirits: dier xsēm sa̍nrēdzi (6) (Tib. manner of speaking).

6. [Foreign text p. 625.] dier xsēm sa̍nrēdzi: xsēm = Tib. gsum = three; sa̍nrēdzi = Tib. sa̍ṅs -rgyas = widespread splendor = Buddhistic title for incarnation. -- dier cannot be identified; it must be Tibetan, however, and mean the same as "region, world." I would like to connect it with the three worlds of the Bon; cf. Hoffmann, Quellen [Sources], p. 139; Francke, Hochzeitslieder [Wedding Songs], pp. 5 ff. -- This tripartition is also familiar to the Chinese; one has only to think of the Taoistic san-ching or the Buddhistic san-chieh.

192
777
The five blessings of good fortune: wu-fu (Chin.).

[Pages 623-625 contain the notes given above as numbered footnotes.]

[625] 3. The New Year's Festival*

527

* See "Notes," pp. 628-629 [of the foreign text]. [In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

Report

[171]
[574]
The New Year is celebrated by the Tujen at the same time as by the Chinese. In the first days they rest from all work,

[628 cont.]

527
[533]
[883]

[Note on foreign text pp. 628-629 cont.]
one couple is seen disappearing off to one side. Concerning the types of songs, cf. Schröder, "Hochzeitslieder."

After the fifteenth day the common workaday life begins
[262] again. The many oil-loaves, however, are eaten for a long time.

[539]
[533]

Song: On New Year's the following song is popularly sung:

1. On New Year's one makes a kowtow to the sky, burns incense, and then one eats.
2. If you observe the laws of the emperor, in later life you will become a minister
3. If you do not forget the kind deeds of the parents, you will later live long.

•192
527

Word List

New Year: šeni sara = new month.
To celebrate the New Year: šeni sara noġdzini.
Last day of the old year: tsiafudzarē šēlõn = of the thirtieth evening.
udurdza xuămuo = day - late.
To slaughter pigs: xġeni ala-.
[252] To bake oil-baking: tsiaṅġuor tsina-.
To distill wine: dērasēṅġē dzinlie-.
To roll thin noodles: narin šēlõṅge dielge-.
To steam pastry: šēmieṅge dzinlie-.
To bake Tachur bread: taġur šdimieṅge sira-.
To celebrate the thirtieth when it grows dark: xara wolgu tsiafudzar noġdzi-.
Please do not sleep today, the gods are to be welcomed early tomorrow morning: niu šēlõn bi ndēra, malõn siernege purġan dzēliegu-.
To burn a little stick of incense: gudzi šda-; shao-hsiang (Chin.).
To burn paper: bio šda; shao huang piao (Chin.).

192 [628 cont.]
527 The welcoming of joy: ying hsi (Chin.).

[Pages 628-629 contain the notes given above as numbered footnotes.]

[630]

## 4. The Age-blessing*

527
778
888

* See "Notes," pp. 634-635 [of the foreign text]. [In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

### Report

[792] Old people, men and women, invite the lama to bless and instruct them. This is a great family festival. It is prepared a long time in advance.

On a certain day acquaintances and relatives come and bring the old person presents and gratulate him. They are [574] treated with tea and cake. There is singing and dancing and a feast is held. The young people fetch the hutukhtu. When he arrives, the women of the village dance, and incense is burned in the yard. The hutukhtu blesses the guests at the feast and the old person.

In the afternoon the age-consecration is performed. The hutukhtu makes a number of tormas, which are carried off. Then the old person kneels on the felt mat before the hutukhtu, is blessed with holy water, receives instructions, and is girdled with a yellow sash. He then resembles a lay monk. The mother's [792] brother determines what compensation the hutukhtu is to receive. [465] The next morning the hutukhtu returns to his monastery.

The consecrated person must now observe special com- [785] mandments, must withdraw on the first and fifteenth of the month for meditation, and fast and pray. -- Not all people can afford this celebration, for it is very expensive.

[631 cont.]

527
778
888
792
[604]

[Note on foreign text p. 634 cont.] prominent position of the mother's brother is particularly striking.

Arrival of the lama: The day before or early in the morning, horsemen have ridden to the lamasery to fetch the hutukhtu. He comes towards midday and is led into the house with the usual ceremonies. On the threshing floor before the yard gate the women dance and sing with all their might. In the yard the incense offering is burned and the conch [632] is blown. The lama is led to the kang in the main house; there he rests and drinks tea.

[604] After a considerable time, the mother's brother and the master of ceremonies introduce themselves to him, give him a hada, and request him to bless the guests at the celebration. Outside, before the door of the main house, he sits down on a chair, and all pass by with bent heads, the mother's brother first. The hutukhtu touches the crown or the forehead of each [788] one with his heavy prayer book. This is called the lama-blessing, from which the entire ceremony gets its name (2). --

2. [Foreign text p. 634.] Cf. chapter, "Reception of the Lama." I could ascertain no name other than lama ndziala; ndziala has a whole series of meanings, among others: to invite a hutukhtu. Because the age-consecration is the greatest familial religious event to which the hutukhtu is invited, it is simply called the "invitation." It is a ceremony in which a special relationship to monasticism is established through the consecration.

• [192]

The person to be consecrated does not come, but waits until later.

[633 cont.]

[Note on foreign text pp. 634-635 cont.] The informant once mentioned a kind of baptism at which the dz̆awdzi (Tib.) is prayed; in Chinese this prayer is called hsi-lien-ching, prayer of washing the face. Evidently the [635] ceremony observed by Filchner was such a boy's baptism; Om mani padme hum, loc. cit. Later there follows a second consecration for young people, which is called gāṅsgur (Tib.) (6) [see Note 6 below] after the corresponding prayer, in Chinese san-hun ching, prayer of the three souls. So the informant told me. Unfortunately I could no longer record these ceremonies.

Word List

Age-consecration: s̆ge lama ndziala- = great lama-invitation.

Master of ceremonies: kāṅguo.

To fetch the hutukhtu: ǧdzō niwa (twice) (or dāṅwu, if the first time).

Mother's brother: nēgā; achiu (Chin.); ayāṅ.

Mother's brother's son: ku-chiu (Chin.).

Sash: gēdzān (Tib. loanword) (6).

6. [Foreign text p. 635.] gēdzān: Tibetan gazn = the yellow sash of the lama costume. -- gōṅsōn: Tib. dgoṅ = solitude, soṅ = to go away; meaning, "to go into solitude." -- gēlōṅba: Tib. dge = virtue, sloṅ = to apply oneself, pa = belonging to; meaning, "one who applies himself to virtue." -- gesnien: Tib. dge = virtue, bs̄nen = to approach. -- gāṅsgur:

[633 cont.]

192 778 888 527

[Note on foreign text p. 635 cont.] Tib. dbaṅ = force, bskur = to consecrate, to transfer. This is a ceremony of the transference of force, at which each lama receives a secret name (Unkrig).

To admit to lama standing with prayer: gẽsnien dzẽwla-.
[785] To observe a day of meditation: pi-chai (Chin.); gonsoṅ (Tib. loanword) (6) [see Note 6 above].
Member of the Yellow Church: gẽloṅba (Tib. loanword) (6) [see Note 6 above].

Pages 634-635 contain the notes given above as numbered footnotes.]

[635] 5. Customs concerning the Dead and Cremation*

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* See "Notes," pp. 650-658 [of the foreign text]. [In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

Report

763 764 If someone is close to death, his clothes are taken off, if he is wearing any on the kang. He is washed, shaved, or in the case of a woman the hair is dressed, and tied in a crouching position immediately after the last breath. A piece of cloth is thrown over the shoulder, which is the sole garment of the dead.

764 Then he is put in a death-box, which looks like a portable house, and propped up with straw. The box is placed on the floor in a room, and the closest relatives hold a death-watch there. At each meal the people bring some of the food in front of the death-box, burn paper, and kowtow. Each

775 [636 cont.]
763
778
[278]
[192]

[Note on foreign text pp.650-651]. conceptions, to be sure, it cannot ensoul the dead corpse again, but it nonetheless brings the dead to life in another rebirth. -- W. Filchner (Unkrig), Kumbum, also mentions this pill on p. 400 under the name rilu, and in Note 1683 under the Tibetan way of writing it, ril bu. It is clear that the Tujen pronunciation reru (ruru) is merely a corruption of the Tibetan word. Ch. Das has two ways of writing it, ril po and ril bu (with the l silent); he translates both as "ball, globule," [cited in English], and for ril bu he also adds "pill" [cited in English], [651] without any further designations for them (pp. 1184-85). This ruru is to be distinguished from nuru, the Tib. nor bu or cintāmani, the Buddhistic wishing-jewel. -- According to the conception of the lamas and of the people, the ruru pill reproduces itself; cf. the chapter, "Earth-god Urn." Sometimes one meets lamas who firmly believe that Europeans, too, have this wonder pill of long life, which is why they live much longer than the Chinese and the Tibetans; they claim to know that there are people in Europe who are several hundred years old.

[648]

rebirth that he comes from a wealthy position and will again acquire gold and silver. Butter is the most superior daily food and is supposed to be that again in the later life.

[262]

[642 cont.]
764 of the soul, according to the saying: if the mother's brother does
604 not open his mouth, the dead cannot migrate. When the soul has
775 no more demands to make on this world, then it leaves house and
179 home. Its demands are advocated by the mother's brother (17). --

17. [Foreign text pp. 655-656.] The people do not agree about the origin and meaning of this ceremony. The Chinese say that it was copied from them; the Tujen claim that it is an old custom of their ancestors. -- The Chinese also have the name bäda (pai-ta); they also say pai-wai for it. They have no special explanation for pai-ta; they interpret pai-wai as "to profit, to tain an advantage." There is no character for either word. This would not be so important, however, since there is a great number of dialectal expressions for which there are no characters. -- The informant believes that bäda is a Tujen word and means "to profit, to gain," exactly like the Chinese pai-wai. If this custom does not occur farther to the east, which would have to be investigated, then one could conceive of it as a borrowing from the Tujen.

[192]

The pai-ta of the Chinese is somewhat more extensive. First there is the donning of the white mourning cap, tai-hsiao, then the viewing of the corpse, wang-ku, that is, to view the bones; the mother's brother in this role is called ku-chu, that is, bones-master, an expression that the Tujen also have. Then follows the speech of the mother's brother, pai-wai. And when the negotiations on this

[646 cont.]
each and two ells of cloth.

At the next grave festival, which usually falls in the third lunar month, all the relatives gather at the kin-group cemetery for the offering to the dead; at that time the bone-chest is also transferred to it. A number of men go to the old burial spot at the place of cremation, dig up the chest, and bring [647] it to the cemetery without any ceremony. There they dig a small hole and put the chest in it. This is done only by men who are of the same generation as the dead person or of a lower generation. A father, for instance, would never bury his son, nor the uncle his nephew, etc.

As soon as the pit has been filled, the offering for the dead takes place; the relatives burn paper and little sticks of incense, set down loaves of bread, meat, etc., pour out tea, liquor, and soup, and hold a little meal at the grave. Then everyone goes home. -- The transfer of the bones, however, need not be done at the next grave festival; sometimes one waits two or three years. The bones may not be interred, however, outside the period of the grave festival (21).

21. [Foreign text pp. 656-657.] The Tujen word sẽn-miṅ is evidently merely a phonetic imitation of the Chinese ch'ing-ming. The informant said that the Tujen did not know about the grave festival in olden times, but that they have copied it from the Chinese, which indeed is confirmed by the precisely identical rites and the asserted former exposure of the corpse. -- The postponement [657] of a final interment of the bones until this feast, however, remains unexplained, especially since the Chinese usually bury their dead immediately in the cemetery. The informant observed in this connection that the Chinese inter their dead on

[649 cont.]

792 an actual corpse were present. On the day set this sheet of paper
766 is burned in the field, but quite simply, without any oven and
without a lama. No one bothers with the ashes. The lama writes
[212] the name on a second sheet, however, and this is put in the bone-
chest, which is buried at the place of the burning (23) until the

[171]

23. [Foreign text p. 657.] The neighboring Chinese have a similar custom. They place the ancestral tablet of the dead person in a little coffin and bury it in the cemetery. This interment has legal force; when it is undertaken, it is regarded as proof that the person is actually dead. A parallel is found among the Chinese in the proxy wedding with a stuffed straw-man.

[212] transfer to the kin-group cemetery takes place at the grave festival. -- The signs that the lama writes are Tibetan.

Word List

• 192
764 Cremation: ġaldē awu- = to put in the fire.

To die: ugei (guei) wōldzia = he has passed away.

He died sitting: sōwa guei wōldzia; tsuo-hua (Chin,) = transformed sitting.

Death of a bonze: niesā sdzia = he has flown away. yū-hua (Chin.) = feathered transformed.

Death of a lama: siaġladzia = he has turned to nothing.

[775] He is reborn: hărga (xara) rēdzia = he has come back; sdziewa.

One has put him in the crouching position: ndañlalġadzia = he has been put in equilibrium.

The dead person: guei woldzăn kun = departed person.

Death clothing (shoulder hanging): bōw-la (Tib. loanword) = white garment.

Death lament: dō tġdzi ula.

192 [649 cont.]
764 Death box: odõṅ.
Bone-chest: mula odõṅ = little death-box.
[354] Water-lamp: fdzẽ dzũla.
Paper-bowl: tsialdzẽ pendzẽ.
To wear the clothing reversed: diela furula mõsẽ.
Prayer tea: rgẽ tsia.
[785] Prayer for the dead: xar(i)dzãn kunẽ xuenuo mani sguorluo- = (to pray) in behalf of the deceased person afterwards the mani in the circle.
Prayer fee for the lama: mbõ (Tib. loanword).
Prayer alms: odõṅ dzied = death-box alms.
192 Own family: dzienãni kudẽ.
601 Relatives on the father's side: dzienani šãni = own relatives, those with the same family name.
Relatives on the mother's side, affinity through marriage: uroǵ. Those with different family names.
[608] Artificial kinship: šãni funi = kinship-smoke. Neighbors and friends who take the place of relatives in performing services at the reception of guests, cremation, etc.
[650]
[764] Bone-master, mother's brother: tsiġãn yẹsẽni daxu = the owner of the white bones;
ku-chu (Chin.).
Mother's brother: nẽġã; achiu (Chin.).
Nephew (sister's son): dzie; wai-sheng (Chin.).
Son-in-law: kurgien; nü-hsü (Chin.).
Sister: agũ.
Daughter: fsdzũn.
192 He died as a rider: tsürog morina bagaldilã sdzia fugudzia.
764 He died as a settler: sãṅrẽdzi liela guei wõldzia.
Burned bones: xuodzẽn yäsẽ = dry bones.
Crematory: taw (tab) (Tib.).
Lighting pole: xuãmbar.
Lay bonze: lao shih-fu (Chin.) = old master.
Demand for an accounting: bãda; pai-ta (Chin.).
769 Grave festival: ch'ing-ming (Chin.); sẽṅ-miṅ (21) [see Note 21 above].
192

[650 cont.]

192 Western paradise: hsi-lo shih-chieh (Chin.) = world of joys.

[775] Oil fir: yu-sung mu (Chin.).

[267] Thin flat-bread made with flour: kan pin-ping (Chin.) = little dry cakes.

[Pages 650-658 contain the notes given above as numbered footnotes. This section ends on p. 658 and the next section begins on p. 822.]

782 [822]

241

114

V. Customs concerning Agriculture and Livestock

1. The Sowing and Harvest Thanksgiving Festivals * (1)

* See "Notes," p. 823 [of the foreign text]. [In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

[113]

1. [Foreign text p. 823.] For this subject, cf. Dom. Schröder, "Das Herbst-Dankopfer der Tujen im Sining-Gebiet [The Harvest Thankoffering of the Tujen in the Sining Region]," Anthropos, 37-40, 1942-45, 867-873. -- The report there presents only the offering from the harvest thanksgiving festival as the old man described it at that time. It is interesting to point out that he seized upon this offering as typical of the festival and mentioned the entire celebration only incidentally, always with the indication that the shamans actually had nothing to do with the offering. When I later asked him why he had not described the entire festival in

[828 cont.]

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821

[Note on foreign text p. 830 cont.] weather conjuration of this region still seems to be an inheritance from the Bon. The conditions and customs connected with it are strongly reminiscent of the description given by A. Tafel for the Bon in eastern Tibet, Tibetreise, II, pp. 198 ff.

241
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The first four tormas represent evil demons. They are driven away by the throwing. The extra features are given so that they will be content and will not return; they are things which one needs in daily life.

[782] The second torma, weather-torma, represents the spirits of the weather ministry. The extra features are an offering to make them favorably disposed.

The mountain-torma represents the world-mountain. Sun and moon circle around it. This mountain is the spirit paradise. It is put under the pole so that the spirits will withdraw into this paradise and leave the human beings.

The wedges represent the magic dagger of the smith-god and his subordinates. They are the chief weapons against demons.
[791] The Bon priest is also a pupil and subordinate of this smith-god. He especially venerates him and likewise uses the three-edged
[535] magic dagger in conjuring away the demons. At the temple dances (tscham dances) the subordinate spirits of the weather-smith-god also appear with the dagger. Lamas never use the dagger. The three notches form three knobs which are supposed
[765] to represent the human skull. The demons especially fear this, like all things that come from the dead, such as the bone flute, the whip of human skin, and the skull drum.

192 [829] Word List

241
789 The pole-goat: aradziãn (Tib. loanword) = to stretch out the goat.

ima rẽdziala (Tujen) = to stretch out the goat.

[778] The goat: ima; chū-la (Chin.); chia-la (Chin.).

[829 cont.]

192 241 789 [782]

Weather-prayer: dirĕdzia xsertsien (Tib. loanword) (8).
lei-pu ching (Chin.) - weather ministry prayer.

8. [Foreign text p. 830.] xsertsien: Tibetan gser = golden, skyem = drink. It is the Mongolic altan umdagan, golden drink, poured out at the obo offering, the tea offering before the obo. An offering to the local gods. --guax: Tibetan skyeg (pronounced kag) = misfortune. --mpuru: Tibetan p'ur bu = nail, peg; can also be a god's name. --satsiog: Tibetan sa = place, skyon = to guard, to preserve; king, protector. --darnag̀: Tibetan dar = silk, nag = black (Unkrig).

[778]

Misfortune-torma: g̀uax (8) [see Note 8 above] s̀dor (Tib.).
Weather-torma: dirdzia xsertsien (Tib. loanword)? cf. weather-prayer.
Mountain-torma: rira (Tib. loanword) = world-mountain, Sumeru, mandala.
Magic dagger: mpuru (Tib.) (8) [see Note 8 above]; ting-shen-chuang; spirit peg (Chin.).
To notch: nduodba (Tib. ?).
Magic formulas: snag̀ (sĕnog̀).

[791]

Bon priest second class: xuăndie; sĕnog̀sa (snag̀sa) (Tib. loanword). peng-po (Chin.).
Weather conjuration: satsion (Tib. loanword) (8) [see Note 8 above.]
The black hada (on the dagger): chao-t'ien p'a (Chin.) = the sky-covering veil.
darnag̀ (Tib. loanword) (8) [see Note 8 above].
The black string: fsiasg̀a (Tib. loanword) = lasso for capturing horses.
k'un-hsien sheng (Chin.): the genii-binding string.

[Pages 829-830 contain the notes given above as numbered footnotes.]

[833 cont.]

241
782

[Note on foreign text pp. 834-835 cont.] have been invited often receive a loin, jou-fang-tzu (Chin.), that is, "meat square," or a thigh, etc. These are not cooked, but are laid aside for this purpose.

For the rest, there are always minor variations, but always the following sequence: purification (washing), slaughtering, offering, meal. Slaughtering, offering, and meal may sometimes be distributed over various days.

[171] the custom among Chinese, but not generally. The Chinese, however, do not go on the mountains for this purpose, but make the offering in the local temple.

Word List

192
241
782

To sacrifice a sheep on the mountain: uladĕ xoni šĕnlie- (šĕnlie-)
Offering throw: dziarin uguo = to give throwing away.
p'ao-ts'an (Chin.) = to throw away.
Own area: dzienani satsia.
Empty utensils: huodzĕn sawa;
k'ung chia-shih (Chin.).

[Pages 834-835 contain the notes given above as numbered footnotes.]

[835]

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4. The Procession around the Field*

*See "Notes," pp. 838-839 [of the foreign text]. [In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

[837 cont.]

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782
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177

[Note on foreign text pp. 838-839 cont.] is no longer held in many places. And this seems to be all the more the case the farther eastward one goes, in other words, into Chinese territory.

Thus it may be asserted with some degree of probability that the field procession is of neither Chinese nor Lamaistic origin. With the Sinicization of the Tujen, and the Fandse in particular, it was still practiced initially, then fell into disuse more and more, and finally was completely lost. -- On the other hand, non-original elements have been added, such as the Buddhist books and the Chinese musical instruments, probably also the god-litter, which almost always shelters the Chinese Niang-niang, the mother deity, and finally also the Chinese incense and the offering paper.

The Chinese thunderbolt procession will be described in more detail in a separate work. Here it should merely be noted that it is connected with the weather forts. These are found only in Tsinghai and its border region to southern Kansu. They might well belong to a shamanistic cycle of ideas.

[838] Word List

192
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782

Procession around the field: sguora (7).

7. [Foreign text p. 839.] sguora: Tibetan skor = to circle around (Unkrig).

192
241
782
624
794
534

[838 cont.]

| | |
|---|---|
| Seed-supervisor: | tōrōdzi (supreme head); ch'ing-miao t'ou (Chin.) = young-seed-master. |
| Trumpet: | dõñ; la-pa (Chin.) = Chin. shawm. |
| Cymbals: | nao (Chin.) = the large beating plates; rēbuoǧē (?). ts'a (ch'a)-pao (Chin.) = small sounding plates. |
| Flags: | ch'i-tzu (Chin.). |
| Books: | luān = prayer; ching (Chin.) = prayer. |
| Book-bearers: | luān rēgudzin kun = prayer-bearing people. |

[Pages 838-839 contain the notes given above as numbered footnotes.]

[839]

600

## VI. Customs in case of Misfortune for Man and Animal

### 1. The Animal-consecration*

*See "Notes," pp. 842-844 [of the foreign text]. [In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

### Report

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825
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782
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791

When the children die, the cattle are stricken, the harvest is battered, or other great misfortunes befall a family, a god is angry. One must appease him. Sometimes the god desires an animal. One learns from the soothsayer which god and which animal are involved (1). He summons the spirit

1. [Foreign text p. 842.] Here, too, the soothsaying can be done through the litter or the spirit-table,

[842 cont.]

778 [825] -- The name of the animals, however, is not taken from the deity concerned, but from the consecration band. Thus, the animals are called consecrated horse, consecrated sheep, etc. The Chinese say "sacred horse," "sacred sheep," etc.

Consecration bands: The bands are simply called "the consecrated." Although all the sacred colors are permissible, red or yellow is preferred for them. It does not matter where the band comes from or what material it is made of. Hada strips, pieces of clothing, wool or silk threads, anything is permitted. The size varies, but on the average it is an ell long and two fingers wide.

The band is supposed to be tied on the front part of the body and on the upper half of the animal, for instance, on the mane, forelock, or shoulder. In the case of hens one slings it around the neck. If the animal loses the band, it is not replaced. -- One can also tear off a band from the spirit-spear, from the spirit-litter, etc. In that case, however, it must later be replaced. Nevertheless these bands are not especially fumigated; they are already pure through their earlier designation (4).

4. [Foreign text pp. 843-844.] There are two names for the bands on the consecrated animal, which are valid both before the consecration and after the consecration. The one is the name šdien, exactly as for the bands on the consecrated spirit-seats (spirit-spear, -table, -litter). But whereas in that case one can call the object together with the bands šdien, here the animal together with the band is never called šdien, but only the band alone, an indication that the consecrated animal is not regarded as possessed by the spirit.

[192]

[825]

[842 cont.]

778
192

[Note on foreign text pp. 843-844 cont.]

The second name is šdier; šdier corresponds to the Mongolic seter; cf. DMF, p. 335, "sdier, ribbon or piece of material attached to the tail or to the mane of an animal consecrated to the deities running free. Cf. Mong. seter, ord. se't'er id." [translated from French]. -- The Tujen designate both the consecration band and the consecrated animal with šdier. This likewise agrees with Mongolic linguistic usage. According to W.A.Unkrig (communication), seter is a [844] band that is tied in the animal's mane or tail. seter also refers to the animal itself and the rite by which it is consecrated. For seter, Kovalevskij (1346) gives the Tibetan equivalents bsruń rtags. According to Jäschke (594 and 212) this means: tutelary-spirit sign, through which it is clear that the animal belongs to the tutelary spirit. Neither Jäschke nor Das have the word combination bsruń rtags.

778
[791] Renewal of the consecration: Usually the renewal takes place in the local temple. The soothsayer determines which day between the new and the full moon. This day of renewal must then be maintained for the life of the animal.

One may also choose the original place of consecration. -- Consecration-master, consecration-god, and consecration-animal must always remain the same. Only if an animal no longer shakes itself when the milk is poured over it is another one taken.

Also, old lost bands are not replaced at the renewal, but [211] every year a new band is added, so the years of consecration can be determined by the number of bands.

[171] Distribution: The animal-consecration is practiced wherever Tujen live. The Chinese do not know it; only in

[842 cont.]

Word List

Consecration-band: šdier (Tib. loanword).
hung-tzu (Chin.) = the red.

To tie on the consecration-band: šdier fuya-.

The consecration-animal: šdier.

Sacred horse: šdier mori; sheng ma (Chin.).

Sacred sheep: šdier xoni; sheng yang (Chin.).

Sacred goat: šdier ima; sheng chia-la (Chin.), etc.

[Pages 842-844 contain the notes given above as numbered footnotes.]

[844]

## 2. The Demon-escort *

* See "Notes," pp. 846-847 [of the foreign text]. [In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

### Report

The demon-escort consists of leading the harmful spirit out of the house and releasing it in the distance. It is done upon the command of the soothsayer in case of family misfortune.

On a set day one invites a lama to the house. He prays for six days with the usual ceremonies and makes several tormas with the appropriate additions, as on other occasions. The compound is taboo, and the master of the household makes the great incense offering three times a day.

In the evening of the sixth day the lama makes the actual demon-torma, which, with all kinds of provisions for travel, is placed on a table in front of the household altar.

On the seventh day one takes the torma, along with a riding animal carrying the travel provisions, outside the village

[846 cont.]

789 If an evildoer steals the animal or the things,[1] the
776 demon will punish him.
688

Word List

192 Demon escort: rēdzõ̃wa (Tib.?) ġarġani = one takes away
789 that which is to be taken away.
[778] The demon-torma: dzuor (Tib.) (1) [see Note 1 above].
Saddlebag: dadzē (Chin. loanword).
Contents of the saddlebag: rdze (Tib. loanword) (possibly provisions).

[Pages 846-847 contain the notes given above as numbered footnotes.]

[847]

000 3. The Figure-litter *

* See "Notes," pp. 849-850 [of the foreign text]. [In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

Report

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74 . . . In order to protect the children from misfortune, one
[777] invites in a Bon priest. He brings along a companion, and then
[778] they hold a seven-day prayer service. During this time they
[782] make all kinds of figures out of tsamba.

On the last day they place the figures on a paper litter and take them with two tormas to a river bank or a road crossing. There everything is burned. Through this one prevents the sickness-demon from returning.

1 [i.e - the animal and things used in the demon-escort ceremony - ANALYST.]

[849 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 850 cont.] and to the demon-escort. I could not ascertain from the notes whether the Bon priest touches the sick person with the figures and thus transfers the sickness to them, as is the case with the shamanistic figure-conjuration. Cf. the following chapter, Note 5.

Word List

192
784 Figure-litter: šergundi; made up of šé (Tib.) = demon, rĕgun = nine (Tib.); ndi (Tib.?) = complete (3) (5).
[778]

3. [Foreign text p. 850.] This explanation by the informant is uncertain.

5. [Foreign text p. 850.] šergundi: Tibetan bse = demon, dgu = nine, k'ri (pronounced thi) = litter. Meaning: nine-demons' litter. -- šbawoǵ: Tibetan sbal (pronounced bal) = toad, frog; nag = black (Unkrig).

[741] Bon priest: xuāndzie (xuāndie).
[778] Demon-torma: dzuor (Tib.).
[825] Sheep: xoní.
Goat: imā.
Hen: taǵu.
Pig: xgé.
Dog: noǵue (noxue).
Snake: moǵue.
Frog: šbawoǵ (5) [see Note 5 above].
Horse: morí.
Cattle: ulā.

[849 cont.]
Raven's feather: kẽrie fõdẽ.
He has painted the demon on paper: tsialdzẽrẽ ilieni xuarladzia.
Horse's skull: mori tolg̃uẽ yãsẽ.
Little-bearer: ndi kurgẽdzin kun = men accompanying the whole (litter?) away.

[Pages 849-850 contain the notes given above as numbered footnotes.]

[850]

4. The Figure-conjuration * (1)

* See "Notes," pp. 851-182 [of foreign text]. [In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

1. [Foreign text p. 851.] I could not obtain any clarification concerning the actual name. It seems that the rdzõn̂ in rdzõn̂wa is the same as in dzõn̂rẽ. The ceremony is quite similar to the one with the figure-litter.

Report

In case of very severe illness one invites in a shaman who makes a series of figures, touches the sick person with them, and takes away the figures in the evening for burning.

Afterwards he buries a series of objects in order to hold down the sickness-demon. The compound remains taboo for all strangers during this time, three, five, seven, or nine days, depending upon the sickness involved.

[851 cont.]

755 can no longer see where the things are buried.

[789] Now all go into the house. The shaman awakes from his
[787] trance.
[756]

Word List

●192 Figure-conjuration: rdzṏñwa (Tib. loanword) (1) [see Note 1 above], (5) [see Note 5 above], (6)
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6. [Foreign text p. 852] rdzṏñwa or dzṏñre: At the base of these two words lies the Tibetan stem rdsons = to take away (pronounced: dzon). sira-dzin: Mongolic sira modon = yellow-wood. It is an especially hard kind of wood, Phellodendron amurense (Unkrig).

[778] Figures (little men): rdzṏñrĕ (Tib. loanword) (6) [see Note 6 above].
Raw meat: tõgõ maxa.
Black food-bowl: xara ïga.
Black vessel: xara pĕndzĕ.
Knife: tsidĕ̈guo.
Magic dagger: siral(dzin) (6) [see Note 6 above] mpuru = yellow-wood magic-dagger.
Chain: fsiasg̈a.
Iron from the town gate: badzër-udie timur.

000 [Pages 851-852 contain the notes given above as numbered footnotes.]

[852] 5. The Washing of the Sick*

* See "Notes," p. 854 [of the foreign text]. [In the translation the notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

[853 cont.]
in the hearth fire until the water boils and the cloth and barley are thoroughly boiled. He hands this decoction to the sick person who must drink it down immediately. With that the ceremony is ended.

[854] The shaman rests from his exertions, eats his supper, and goes home.

## Word List

| | |
|---|---|
| Washing the sick: | ġuāndzi (xuāndzie) fdzē šdani = the shaman boils water. |
| Sword-shaman: | sgurdien. |
| Knife: | tsidiġuo. |
| Lock: | tsūrġuo. |
| Red-hot stone: | sōdaṅ; ts'u-t'an (ch'ü-t'an) (Chin.). |
| Barley liquor: | miṅ-liu dērasē. |
| Flowers: | tsidziġ. |
| Prayer texts: | dzayaṅ (1). |

1. dzayāṅ: Mongolic ǰayaġan (pronounced ǰayan) = fortune, fate, etc.; meaning: prayer of fate (Unkrig).

## 6. The House-purification *

* See "Notes," p. 855. [of the foreign text]. [In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

### Report

If someone is seriously ill, then the shaman, with the men of the household, undertakes a house-purification. On this occasion the demon is conjured out of the house in a straw doll, dragged out of the village, and burned.

[855 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 855 cont.]
about himself with sword and lance, hacked the hen to pieces, hacked up a straw man, swung a winnowing shovel and a sieve, danced, and foamed at the mouth.

In this way the demon is conjured away. The shaman goes home and has his supper.

192

Word List

755 House-purification: rdzõ̃ŋwa (rëdzõ̃ŋwa).
789 The torch: huo-pa (Chin.).
[416] The stones: taše̋; sa-shih (Chin.).
Oil-basin: ġal-tuġuo; yu-kuo (Chin.).
Fire-arrow: ġal sẽmu; huo-chien (Chin.).
Fire-bow: ġal lẽmu; huo-kung (Chin.).
The hemp whip: uhuosẽ yudier; ma-pien-tzu (Chin.).
The hen: tagū; huo-chi (Chin.), huo: here = to live.
[778] The straw man: šdagu kun; ts'ao-jen (Chin.).

[The notes given above as numbered footnotes appear here.]

[856]

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7. The Earth-god Urn *

* See "Notes," pp. 858-860 [of the foreign text]. [In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

Report

If misfortune prevails in the house, then sometimes the

[857 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 858 cont.]
fortune, which consists of several conchoidal eggs and is surrounded with flames, nuru. This is found very often in Lamaistic symbolism and is also borne by the air-horse. It is the cintāmaṇi. Cf. above: "Customs concerning the Dead and Cremation," Note 2.

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Persons: The urn can only be made by a lama who possesses special powers. One never fetches a Living Buddha for it. The latter, however, may make and consecrate them in his monastery. -- Since one can also order the urns in the monastery (they are not in stock), the master of the household may fetch it from there and bury it at home without a lama. [791] It must always be done with the assistance of a soothsayer, however, and in the presence of an invoked spirit -- If one wants to bury several urns, however, this must always be done by a lama even if the urns were bought in the monastery. -- If one wants to have several urns made at home, then he fetches [35] [784] several lamas at the same time (5). -- Regardless of whether the

5. [Foreign text pp. 858-859.]
As the lamas in Kumbum maintain, there is a great number of treasure urns, and special prayers are used for each type. [859] The urns are preferably buried in obos. -- In Kumbum the urns are usually called beṅba, which seems to be the same as the Tibetan bum-ba, vessel. Another name is xdĕr-wĕm, which probably corresponds to the Tibetan gter-bum, treasure vessel, Chinese pao-p'ing. The expression sĕnoġ-dĕr (cf. section, "Mani-tree and Central Fort") perhaps

[192]

[178]

[857 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text pp. 858-859 cont.] comes from the fact that the urn is consecrated with certain conjuration formulas, snags (dha-rani), in other words, represents a magic treasure.

urn is buried by one or more lamas or by the master of the household, the compound is always taboo during this time.

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[858] Place: The place at which the urn is buried must always be chosen in such a way that no person or domestic animal can desecrate it. No one may run across such a place. For this reason roads and public places are avoided, for the place is, after all, not specially marked. Otherwise the urn may be buried anywhere, in the fields or in the pasture, in the yard or in the house. Indeed, one may even set it in yard and room walls and wall it up.

Significance: The contents of the urn are the treasures and yield of the earth, everything that belongs in the realm of the earth-god or of the mountain-spirit. One wants to please these two spirits through these valuables so that they will hold down the evil earth-influences and protect human beings from misfortune. It is as though gifts were being given to persons in office (6).

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6. [Foreign text pp. 859-860.] According to this explanation, an offering to the earth-god is involved. The interpretation, however, might not suffice. One must consider the urn in its wider context. It repeatedly occurs in Tujen usage, with the arrow of good fortune, with the round manger, in the obo, in the chorten chamber, and, to be sure, in twofold form: in the one case as the seat of a deity, which through the formula scroll,

[858 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text pp. 859-860 cont.]
for instance, at the erection of the weather fort, in the case of knife-climbing, disease exorcism, etc.

Word List

192
782 Earth-god: ġlu (glĕ).
[776] Earth-god urn: sĕnoġ-der; sĕnoġ (Tib.) = to meditate; der (Tib.) = urn, bottle.
[778] To buy an urn: sĕnoġ-der bula; bula = to buy; but used only for the consecrated urn, otherwise "to buy" is called awu-.

Contents of the urn: rdzē (Tib.) (7).

7. [Foreign text p. 860.]
Concerning rdzē, cf. section, "The Incense Offering," Note 4. These additions are for the greater part designated by the Chinese as yao (yüo) and are not to be thought of merely in the sense of medicine. Everything possible that has a special effect falls under yao: minerals, powder, spices, little pieces of shell, gold, and silver, and the filling of the treasure urn. Lamas from Kumbum and Bengbar told me that there are about 30 to 40 types of treasure urns with different fillings. One of the most valuable is the one that contains mani-ruru (little balls). These little balls multiply, they "cast young," as the people say, and fill up the entire urn; cf. section, "Customs concerning the Dead," Note 2. Ch. Das (p. 874) calls the urn additions bum rdsas: "twenty-five articles (comprising

[858 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 860 cont.] consecrated objects and various sorts of medicines) required to be kept in the sacred-pot which contains the sacred water" [cited in English]. In his case, however, the holy-water urn, bum pa, is involved. Cf. the chapter above, "The Incense Offering."

All kinds of filling: yilĕ tawa ndzuomladzi = all kinds -- filling -- being complete.

Urn binding: ama budzin = opening-binding.

Sealing wax: latsia (8).

8. [Foreign text p. 860.] latsia: comes from the Chinese; la-cha = sealing wax. nuru: Tib. nor bu; also called yid-bžin = a treasure that one desires (Unkrig).

[778] Jewel of good fortune: nuru (Tib. loanword) (8) [see Note 8 above].

Buddha gold: fo-chin (Chin.).

Coral: šurĕ.

Mother-of-pearl: mădoġ (Tib. loanword).

[824] White rice: tsiġan tudurġa; no-mi (Chin.).

Yellow rape: sira yañsgar; shen-ts'ai-tzu (Chin.) = spirit-rape.

[Pages 858-860 contain the notes given above as numbered footnotes.]

[866 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text pp. 868-869 cont.] chief of all fire-sacrificials" [cited in English]. -- The DMF, p. 73, likewise has the expression dzuntsiog and writes: "name of certain libations and offerings" [translated from French]. Cf. Tib. t'sogs, "sacrificial offering" [cited in English]. Then it presents the expression lama dzuntsiog fudzuruna (= surina) and writes: "the lama performs the libations" [translated from French]. There can be no question of a libation here, and the ... tsiog (ts'og) is also not the Tibetan ts'ogs, which, according to Ch. Das (pp. 1032, 1033), means "accumulation," and, in connection with 'k'or, "offering in a circle (mandala)." Although the informant did not primarily emphasize the fire-offering, he nonetheless translated the dzuntsiog with the Chinese tao huo-t'an = literally, to pour on the fire surface = to undertake the fire-pouring. F. Lessing (p. 150) has for this the expression huo-t'an-i-kuei, roughly, rite of the fire-terrace.

782 just as important as the fire-ceremony. -- The fire-pouring is
792 widespread among the Tujen and Fandse. It is also undertaken
[17] in the lamic monasteries.

Word List (8)

• 192
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8.[Foreign text pp. 869-870.] In addition to the names mentioned here, I also learned in the Mongol lamasery Tsa-tsang-szu and in the neighboring monastery Fu-hai szu or Hsin-szu (Guăm-basoma) west

[866 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text pp. 869-870 cont.]
of Tangkar the following details and variations:

Fire-pouring: żūin (yūin)-tsēǵ; cf. the Tujen corruption dzun-tsioǵ.

Ground-drawing (mandala): sdziṅkuor (Tib.).

Separation wall: lāmbān (Tib.). Cf. lāngaṅ (Tujen) and lan-kan (Chin.).

Pouring spoon: rgāṅ zār (Tib.).

Butter-spoon (for liquid butter): tombō (Tib.).

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Firewood (which is placed in octagonal form on the burning-place): xsiǵ ǵa (Tib.).

Consecration-wood (which is thrown with the spices into the fire): yām šēṅ (Tib.); cf. the Tujen word yiew siṅ.

Wood for the white fire-pouring: nia-rēx (Tib.) or, according to another pronunciation, niāw rsēǵ (Tib.); hsi-fan liu (Chin.) = Tibetan willow; chi-chua liu (Chin.) = hens-foot-willow.

Black thorn: tsērnaǵ (Tib.); or sdzirwa (Tib.); xara tsitsērnaǵ (Mongol.).

Wood for the red fire-pouring: uombō (Tib.); balaǵ (Mongol.); sa-liu (Chin.), probably the High Chinese sha-liu (= sand willow) is meant.

Tamarisk: sōgā. This word is Mongolic and Tujen in any case. The Chinese also say so-kai for it, evidently an approximation of the sound. I also heard this word from Tibetans. It is likewise used for the red fire-pouring. One prefers these switches for whip handles.

[866 cont.]

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[824]
[322]

[Note on foreign text pp. 869-870 cont.]

Wood for the yellow fire-pouring: maġa (Tib.); dziāṅma (Mongol.); chien-yang liu (Chin.); the wood is used a great deal for mill wheels; it seems to be a kind of maple. I also saw it a great deal among carvers, who praise it as the best wood for carving.

[778]

Fire-torma: dāmbala (Tib.).

Yellow fire-pouring: sēru dżiwi źūin tseġ (Tib.).

Red fire-pouring: ġõngĕ dżiwi źūin tseġ (Tib.).

White fire pouring: siwi dżiwi źūin tseġ (Tib.).

Black fire-pouring: dźoġguei dżiwi źūin tseġ (Tib.).

Burnt offerings: rdzē (Tib., Mongol.).

Butter: marku (Tib.); dasu (Mongol.).

[870]

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Grain: nie (Tib.); tara (Mongol.); the Mongols there designate Tibetan barley, ch'ing-k'o, with tara, which is simply grain.

Wheat: dšō (Tib.); budĕ (Mongol.).

Beans: tšamā (Tib.); burdzieġ (Mongol.).

Barley: sō (Tib.); sōtara (Mongol.); it is probably a combination of the Tibetan sō and the Mongolic tara (grain).

White rape: yõṅgur (Tib., Mongol.); pei-ts'ai-tzu (Chin.).

Indian incense grass: gusia (Tib., Mongol.); wei-tzu ts'ao (Chin.); that is, reed. Evidently the kuśa grass designated by Filchner, Kumbum, p. 88 and Note 400, which supposedly stems from India, is involved here.

[866 cont.]

[Note on foreign text pp. 869-870 cont.]

Butter-tsamba: sũosẽn (Mongol.); a mixture to which other additions are added.

Blue flowers: dž̆ẽyãn̂gẽ (Tib.); gõxu (according to another dialect, kõku) dzidzigẽ (Mongol.); lãn-ts'ao (Chin.) = blue grass.

Individual additions: tsiawar rdzẽ (Tib.).

All kinds of additions: ondõn̂ rdzẽ (Tib., Mongol.).

Monk's herb: durẽwã (Tib., Mongol.); ping-ts'ao (Chin.) = ice herb; tao-seng-ts'ao (Chin.) = Taoist-Buddhist monk's herb; instead of seng (monk), the sign for sheng is also written; that may be false, however. It is unclear to me which herb is involved.

All the names have been written according to the dialect of the monks in Tsatsang-szu, who mostly come from the region of Dulãn (Tsaidam).

Fire-pouring: dzuntsiog̊ (Tib. loanword) (9), suri = to pour fire-pouring, DMF 73.

9. [Foreign text p. 870.] Tsũordzi: Tibetan c'os = doctrine, rje = master. The representative of the monastery abbot is designated by it, teacher. -- Kãnbõ: Tibetan mk'an = master, po = particle. mk'an po = abbot of a monastery, professor, head of a lamasery. -- gãn̂sãr: Tibetan gan̂ sa? = tube. -- dziañgõn: probably arose from the Tibetan gTsan̂ = Tib. province, and sn̂o = herb. -- ndoluwa: perhaps is connected with the Tibetan sgrol ba = the goddess Dolma, to

[866 cont.]

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[824]
[776]

[Note on foreign text p. 870 cont.]
help, to save; otherwise called Tārā. -- gusia: Tibetan ku ša (from the Sanskrit) = botanical Poa cynosuroides. -- sāndoñmani: can be analyzed into the Tibetan words seṅ (Sanskrit. siṃha) = lion, gdoṅ = face, mani = jewel. It is a goddess. -- šda(m)tsēni: can be analyzed into the Tibetan words rta = horse, mgrin (pronounced din) = neck, also voice; in other words: the horse-necked one, or the horse-voiced one. -- logoñ: Tibetan klu (pronounced lu) = dragon, and gdoṅ = face. Literally, therefore, dragon-face (Unkrig).

[372] Fire-place: taw (Tib. loanword) = oven, hearth.

[778] Misfortune-torma: ġuaġ dor (Tib.).
ġuaġ = misfortune; prayer said during the preparation of this torma.

Earth-spirit torma: ġlū-šdorma.
Mountain-spirit torma: yifula-šdorma.
Fire-torma: ġal šdorma.
Earth-god spices: ġlu smāṅ (Tib.).
dalāṅ dierāṅ sāmba smāṅ = 74 pieces of spices.

[867]

[532] Measuring string: šdag paġdzin bōdoġ = pattern-drawing string.
Pattern: arasē xuar = leather model; tsialdzē xuar = paper model.

Burning-place drawing (mandala): tawni xuar.

[393] Wall: lāṅgāṅ (Chin. loanword).
Pouring tube: šge gāṅsār (Tib. loanword) = large spoon.
Ladling spoon for butter: mula gāṅsār = little spoon.
Spoon (profane): dzieġliu (Tujen).

[372] Cloth fan: ki yūelwa = air-cloth.
rlōṅ yāg (Tib.).
Cloth (profane): bosē.

[867 cont.]

Lighting pole: xuāmbar.

Flint and steel: kidie.

Fire struck with flint and steel: kidie ġal = flint-and-steel fire.

Ordinary fire: arāṅka ġal.

At the fire-pouring pouring there is no loss through bad weather: dsuntsioġ surēwa, dierdzia ġdzūen uguei.

At the black fire-pouring pouring the demons flee: xara dzuntsioġ surewa, mō iliesgē xuoluode pusa sdzia (sdzim).

Firewood: taw siṅ (Tib.) = oven-wood.

Consecration-wood: yiew (ziew) -siṅ (Tib.).

Tibet-herbs: dziāhgōṅ (Tib. loanword) (9) [see Note 9 above].

tsang ts'ao (Chin.) = Tib. herb.

Tibet-flowers: kāṅba (Tib. loanword).

ta t'ou mao hsiang (Chin.).

White grass (from Tsinghai): ndoluwā (9) [see Note 9 above]; pai-ts'ao (Chin.).

Tibetan hard grass (reed): gusia (Tib. loanword) (9) [see Note 9 above].

tsang hsi-chi (Chin.).

Tamarisk?: guāṅbō (xuāṅbo); sōgā.

Poplar wood: mōdē = wood.

White thorn: siraldzin = yellow thorn.

Black thorn: xara rēguodzē.

Horse-god: ṡdamtsēṅi (Tib. loanword) (9) [see Note 9 above].

ma-wang (Chin.).

Cattle-god: ndigsier (Tib. loanword); niu-wang (Chin.).

Lion-god: sāṅdoṅmani (Tib. loanword); shih-wang (Chin.) (9) [see Note 9 above].

Water-faced Buddha: logon rēdziawu (Tib. loanword) (9) [see Note 9 above].

shuei-lien p'usa (Chin.).

[Pages 867-870 contain the notes given above as numbered footnotes. This section ends on p. 870 of Vol. 47, and the next section begins on p. 202 of Vol. 48.]

[203 cont.]

776

## I. The Total Religious Picture

### 1. The Deities

#### a) The Higher Deities

The higher deities are to be understood as those figures that do not belong among the so-called purġan, but are mentioned separately from these by their own names. These are heaven (tieṅġëre), the mountain-spirit (yifula), and the earth-deity or earth-deities (ġlu; itoġa). They seem to be the older deities and will be dealt with later when the belief in a supreme god is discussed.

#### b) The Lower Deities

192 776 The lower deities can all be included under the generic name purġan. The word purġan is none other than the term customary in the literature, Burchan (Burkhan, Burkan), which, as is well known, stands for "god" in large parts of Central Asia. The origin of this name has not been clarified. Usually a connection with "Buddha" is assumed, and the word is derived from the compound Bud(dah)-Khan; see W. Schmidt, UdG, X, p. 573, with reference to the sources. This passage, which deals with the Tungus, emphasizes that there Burkan predominately refers to foreign deities, a situation that is quite close to that found among the Tujen. Another explanation connects the word with the Buddhistic grave-monument (oral communication from W. A. Unkrig), namely, purġan supposedly arose from the Mongolic suburġan. The word suburġan in turn is derived from the Tibetan spur-k'aṅ, house of corpses, cremation place. Since consonant clusters are avoided in Mongolic, a u was inserted between the s and the p for easier pronunciation, just as also happens in the case of other word derivations. Thus from spur, through the transformation of the p (which the Mongols do not have) to b, the word subur arose. The n in k'an is slurred into a simple n.

192 778 776 With suburġan (spur-k'aṅ) one designated the same thing as with the Tibetan mc'od-rten, chorten or stupa, which literally

[203 cont.]

means "offering container." The chortens now usually shelter the ashes of Buddhist saints or their relics and frequently also bear their pictures on the front side. Thus the meaning of an idol is connected with the whole. The chortens or stupas or suburgans are therefore the seat of a spirit or of a deceased person. A deity is present in them. They are the same as [204] what the Mongols or Tujen imagine under the expression purġan. This conception is confirmed, furthermore, by the urn shape of the stupa. In Tibetan the lower part is called bum-ba, urn, pot. As has already been shown in the case of the earth-god urn and the beñkañ, urns are frequently the seat of a deity. This conception is also found elsewhere, and one might also connect the urn with the throne of the gods, which will not be discussed here. In any case, the Tujen word purġan is late and Buddhistic in origin.

All the inhabitants of the Buddhist, Bonist, and Taoist pantheon fall within the group of these lower gods insofar as the Tujen have taken it over. A special position seems to be occupied by the fire-spirit as hearth-god or god of the shaman fire, whom Schram so strongly emphasizes in his book concerning marriage among the Tujen. I could no longer confirm any special veneration of the shaman fire, however. If one disregards the fire offering, which is included as part of the rite of the Lamaistic fire-pouring, there remains to the people only the hearth-god, who, however, is venerated no more frequently than among the Chinese, for example. The use of fire for purification (widow marriage, leaping over fire, fumigation, red-hot stone, etc.) seems to have nothing to do with a god. It can be explained purely magically, because the demons fear the fire. They are, of course, always regarded as unclean, as the common phrase, pudaġ ilie, dirty demon, proves.

Of the other gods who deserve special mention, there are the shaman and soothsaying gods, who animate or temporarily take possession of the spirit-spear, the spirit-table, and the divine images, for instance, the black and white tiger, the great mother, the dragon. Furthermore, an important role is played by the god of joy (at a wedding), who probably comes from the Chinese, the horse- and cattle-king, the world-directions spirits, and the gods of the weather ministry with the smith-god

[205 cont.]

774 Unequivocal statements concerning the conceptions of the soul among the Tujen could not be secured. It is true that several souls can be inferred from the death customs described, but the naming and peculiar nature of these souls remain vague.

•192 Two designations for "soul" come into consideration:
774 namsŭ (namšĕ) and suniedzĕ. The word namsŭ is seldom used. According to the DMF (256), it corresponds to the Tibetan ñams-su. This independent connection cannot be confirmed in Ch. Das, but ñams alone is found there, p. 476, with the meaning: "...the soul, mind, spirit as an entity" [cited in English]. The su could at most still be an instrumental particle. One will probably not go wrong, therefore, if he equates namsŭ not with ñams-su, but with the Tibetan rnam šes, pronounced nam-še. Ch. Das (762) translates it with: "...the mind, knowledge, intellect, memory" [cited in English]. H.A. Jäschke, on the other hand, has for it the explanation (315): "3. in popular language: soul, e.g. of the departed..." [cited in English]. The much more frequently used word suniedzĕ has the same meaning. It is the equivalent of the Mongolic sŭnesŭn. Both namsŭ and suniedzĕ signify nothing uniform, for there are three souls: nigĕ
774 kundu ġuran namsŭ-i, or nigĕ kundu suniedzĕ ġuran-i, that is:
775 "There are three souls to a human being"; cf. DMF 256. And of what kind are these souls? toroń yesĕ saġdzini, ġuordani sdziewa awura sdzini, ġurandani iliedu furani (cf. DMF 361), that is, "The first guards the bones, the second assumes the rebirth, the third transforms itself into a demon." Mostaert, op. cit., refers to Sanžeev, "Weltanschauung und Schamanismus der Alaren-Burjaten [World-view and shamanism of the Alar-Burjat]," Anthropos, 22, 1927, p. 585. The conception of the tripartition,
[171] however, is much more widespread; at any rate in Lamaistically influenced Asia it is found almost everywhere. Even the Tsinghai Chinese know of three souls: one goes into the underworld, one stays with the corpse (bones), one wanders around in the world. What is common to these three souls is that they can separate themselves from the body.

775 The bone-soul remains with the skeleton after death, at
764 least until the rite of the bădа has been completed, whereby it
604 is satisfied and becomes free. Its agent in this ritual and the

[252 cont.]
771 utilitarian idea. The Tujen give their offerings and prayers in
776 order to make the spirit world favorably inclined toward them
[782] for the purpose of earthly well-being. They are not so submis-
[789] sive to the harmful demons, however, but instead face them with greater hostility and try to vanquish them with the help of the good spirits or through magic.

### b) The Offering

### The Types of Offering

782 The Tujen distinguish the following types according to what is offered: the incense offering, food and drink offering, slaughtered offering, animal-consecration. -- Aside from the incense offering and the animal-consecration, they have a
[192] common name for the offering, namely, šeńlie, which corresponds to the Chinese hsien. Thus, they say, for instance, šdimie šeńlie-, to offer bread; tsidzig šeńlie-, to offer flowers; xonini šeńlie-, to offer a sheep (cf. DMF 376). This expression šeńlie may not be used for anything else.

The incense offering, which originally was an aromatic offering, has now been greatly extended by all kinds of additions, such as butter, tsamba, flowers, spices, silk threads. Here, too, however, the rule against giving anything that smells unpleasant is maintained. The use of butter and
[174] tsamba, which are the staple foods of the nomads there, implies an old pastoral custom. Concerning the original incense offering, cf. the chapter further below, "The Belief in a Supreme God."

The food offering principally includes bread, wine, butter, tsamba. One puts them down before the spirit, for instance, before the household altar, the obo, the mani-tree, the god's image, etc. When they are taken away and consumed, some is thrown to the deity concerned. Liquids are poured on the ground or squirted into the air. The custom of
[264] throwing something to the spirits before each meal belongs here, too.

[214 cont.]

782 mani padme hum," or when they turn to heaven with the old
788 saying, "Heaven knows." -- [215] They include these two types of prayer under the expression yandzila-, to implore, to request, and this is usually linked with the offering in order to express their attitude. The independent, pure prayer is quite rare.

The people are still not satisfied with this kind of prayer, however, but like to turn to the ritual, cultic prayer, for which [463] there are the special professions of the priests: the Bon and the [792] lamas and the Taoist monks. This is not to say that these are [791] invited exclusively for the prayer, but how strongly the people connect praying with these professions is shown by the common designation that is used both among the Tujen and among the [192] Chinese to differentiate them from the laity: nien-ching-ti jen, that is, praying person. This official praying is called luom mosẽ, to recite prayers, exactly as in the Chinese nien-ching. In the eyes of the people this is the classical, correct prayer, something rigidly formulated, recited according to definite rites, fixed by the sacred texts, like the sutra (luom) and the Chinese ching.

[463] Thus one can say that the offering primarily falls to the laity, but the praying to special professions.

## 4. Magic

789 I was unable to confirm hardly any true folk-magic.
756 There is a whole assortment of magic operations and the use of
[791] amulets, but in general the people fetch shamans, Taoist priests, Bon priests, and soothsayers for this. Since the main goal of magic is to ward off evil spirits, this task falls above all to the shamans, who, moreover, combat the demons with the help of their tutelary spirits. Thus, magic and shamanism are closely linked.

## 5. The Mixed Character of Tujen Religion

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174 The customs of the Tujen clearly show that we are not dealing with a simple form of belief, but with a multi-layered

[217 cont.]

771 776 The belief in a supreme god among the Tujen must have been known to the people themselves at an early date. Tafel noted in his fairly reliable chapter: "The Turen [sic] of Wei-yüanpu are a very curious tribe. Many say that they have only one single god in which they believe. But they are, like the [218] Chinese, also Buddhists" (Tibetreise [Tibet Journey], I, p. 246). The author unfortunately does not tell who these "many" are. Probably they are the Tujen themselves. Tafel is right insofar as a true monotheism is unknown to the Tujen. On the other hand they do not share the same Buddhism with the Chinese. The Tujen are Lamaists, the Chinese, on the other hand, never or only as an exception. From the customs observed, it now appears incontestably that the so-called one god [821] of the Tujen is a supreme god who is venerated in the form of the heavens. One must, therefore, start from "heaven."

a) The Name "Heaven"

rĕġuo

772 776 192 [821] For "heaven" the Tujen know two expressions, namely, rĕġuo and tieńgĕre. The word rĕġuo is little used and then only in the sense of the physical sky, firmament. It agrees entirely with its Mongolic equivalent oktarġui, which is to be equated with the Tibetan mk'a or nam mk'a or gnam, and means: sky, empty space above the air, firmament, vault of the heavens, ether, atmosphere, air. Cf. Kovalevski, p. 430. Even among the following expressions that include oktarġui, there is none in which oktarġui is comprehended as a deity or spirit. Cf. op. cit., pp. 430-433. Thus it must be sharply distinguished from tengri (tieńgĕre) and cannot be used synonymously with the latter. Only in the sense of the physical sky do they overlap. Among the Tujen, reġuo is chiefly regarded as light-sky, bearer of brightness. One therefore likes to add the adjective kuġuo (blue, light, bright), for instance, kuġuo rĕġuo undurwa (the blue sky is high). The kuġuo rĕġuo (light sky) stands in contrast to the [825] [539] xara gadzier (dark earth). An appropriate bird is assigned to

[218 cont.]

each of them as a symbol of brightness and of darkness. Thus, in a wedding song it is said: xara gadzier mundzini xęla; kuǧuo rēǧuoni dzindzini xęla (the black earth's dark bird calls; the light sky's light bird answers). Here, it is true, the rēǧuo has been drawn into the -- probably Tibetan -- mythology of light and darkness, but nothing concerning a possible significance of the rēǧuo as spirit or deity is expressed by it. (Cf. Schröder, "Hochzeitslieder.") Even if the expression rēǧuo in its meaning as light-bearer corresponds approximately to the word tieńgēre, its deeper meaning is thereby exhausted and it will not be considered further.

## tieńgēre

tieńgēre is the Tujen form of the written Mongolic tengri or tngri. It may signify both the natural sky as well as heaven as a deity. As natural sky it is provided with the same adjectives as the word rēǧuo, in other words, with kuǧuo (blue), undur (high), etc. Like the latter, it also, as the daylight sky, stands in contrast to the dark earth. Our expression "heaven and earth" is always rendered among the Tujen by kuǧuo tieńgēre, xara gadzier (light sky, dark earth). They would never [219] simply say "heaven and earth." In this conception, the Tujen go hand in hand with their Altaic-Mongolic relatives. In his dissertation, Pallisen has presented the connection of light and heaven especially clearly: Among all Altaic peoples the sky is primarily perceived as the daylight sky. According to H. Vambéry and Barbier de Maynard, the concepts "the light," "brightness" in all Altaic languages belong to the same word family as tengri (Religion der Altmongolen [Religion of the Ancient Mongols], p. 123). Pallisen then appends the word lists for 13 languages, which are intended to illustrate this connection (op. cit., pp. 123 ff.).

The sky, however, is regarded not only as the embodiment of light, but it is also the bearer of the most important cosmic phenomena. This is expressed in many everyday phrases, for example: the sky rains; the sky is cold; the sky is hot; the sky thunders; the sky is cheerful, etc. Hence,

[219 cont.]

772 the heavens, even purely sensibly, stand in the consciousness of
776 the Tujen as something important, exalted, as that immeasurable
192 space of light embracing the world, in which the natural events
821 that so impress the simple human being take place. It is not the word rĕguo that arouses this consciousness in them, but the word tieñgĕre. Evidently, it is one of the oldest words that they, along with the other Altaic peoples, among whom it is charged with the same content, have inherited from hoary prehistory. It cannot be further analyzed etymologically.

772 For this reason, this very expression is excellently suitable
776 for designating what we call "God." Where the Tujen, who are,
192 after all, a branch of the Mongols, acquired the link between
174 the name tieñgĕre and the concept "God" is not to be dealt with here. That belongs in the history of the religion of the Mongols or of the Altaic peoples generally. Father W. Schmidt has made it seem probable that it is not a matter of equating the highest being with the material heaven, but only of a transference of the name "heaven" to the supreme god; this must have happened at the time of the transition to herding in the great steppes where "they have before them the huge dome of the heavens unobscured in its entire extent and with all natural phenomena taking place in the sky"; cf. Schmidt, Religionsgeschichte [History of Religion], p. 256, UdG, X, pp. 128 ff. The question arises here: Does this also apply to the Tujen and in what way? How is the name tieñgĕre used, as a generic or proper name? Does it actually signify God?

One must first of all go back to the general Mongolic conceptions, which, to be sure, know the same name. Pallisen in this connection comes to the following conclusion (op. cit., p. 126): "One can therefore say that in this stage of development Tengri meant something like 'God Heaven' as a proper name, not 'heaven god' and not 'god in heaven' or 'god of heaven,' as some researchers maintain.... Gradually, however, Tengri was used to designate the God of the Christians and of the Mohammedans, and finally, with the adoption of Buddhism, this word became equivalent to the Sanskritic Deva, and numerous deities of the Lamaistic pantheon, which in part were taken into it from the old folk-belief, were [220] then also called

[220 cont.]

772 Tengri, with the addition of a definite proper name (especially
776 the 33 tengri: ghutschin ghurban Tengri)." "In other words, for
192 the interpreters and for the numerous strangers generally who
174 stayed at the court of the great Khan and among whom many priests of all religions were also represented, the significance of Tengri as a generic name for 'god' was already familiar and clear" (op. cit., p. 127). -- Later, according to Pallisen, along with Buddhism there came the term burxan, which is supposed to be a corruption of the Sanskrit word for Buddha and among the Mongols is supposed to have taken on the meaning of "idol, deity, spirit, god's image." (Concerning the origin of the word Burchan or purġan, cf. above.)

Among the Tujen this development is difficult to determine. I have often asked people how many tieńgĕre there are. I always received the answer; only one. Only once did my informant observe that there were also other gods called tieńgĕre. When he was then to name these gods, he did not know a single one. This is a sign of how secondary the significance of tieńgĕre as a generic name must have been among the Tujen, since it could disappear from linguistic usage so completely without a trace, if it was ever present. Perhaps the above-mentioned observation of A. Tafel concerning a "single god" is to be traced back to a similar piece of information. The tieńgĕre of the Tujen, in other words, does not entirely correspond with the tengri of the Mongols. Only the word purġan, which corresponds to the Mongolic burxan, has taken over the function of a generic name; purġan signifies not only the native gods, spirits, gods' images, but generally all the deities of the various religions. At times it may also designate a demon. It is used in a way similar to the Chinese fo-yeh, though to be sure never for a Tulku. The conception of a plurality, which, of course, is essential for a generic concept, is always connected with the word purġan.

772 According to all the information and on the basis of the
776 customs recorded, tieńgĕre alone is reserved as the proper name
192 of the god-heaven. The bilingual Tujen generally translate it with the Chinese t'ien (heaven) or lao-t'ien (old heaven) or

[220 cont.]
772 t'ien-yeh (father "heaven"). The fact that this tieñgĕre applies
776 exclusively to the heavenly being appears with special clarity
192 in the constantly used formula: šge tieñgĕre, uluon purĝan (the great heaven, the many spirits). Quite consciously here uniqueness is placed over against multiplicity and at the same time it is expressed that heaven possesses at least as much honor as the purĝan, in other words, is also a deity, or can be a higher spiritual being. What the content of this god-concept is now, whether it is really a heaven as supreme god, is to be made clear in the following, and, to be sure, first of all in connection with the heaven cult of the people.

776
782 b) The Heaven Cult

After all that has been said up to now, it is established beyond doubt that the Tujen venerate the heavens. It can also be confirmed further from the popular literature, as will become clear below. Thus [221] here it is only a question of the what and how of the veneration of heaven (offering, prayer), insofar as it is appropriate to provide information concerning the god-concept and the conceptions linked with it, as well as the age and the position of the belief in a supreme god.

1) The Offering

782 As regards the form, the executers, and the sentiment of the offering, what is said generally about the offering applies. Here in first place the question arises: Are there offerings that in a special way are intended for heaven or that have a special relationship to it? This is quite generally the case with every offering insofar as it can be conceived as a primitial offering. In addition there are also other offerings which -- at least originally -- were reserved for heaven, among which the incense offering and sheep offering are the most important.

The Primitial Offering

[192] The Tujen do not know a special generic name for the primitial offering. They say, depending on the circumstances:

[221 cont.]

782 to throw the first (the first piece, the first drop, the first bowl,
192 etc.) to the heavens. For "first" they use the word toroñ. As a number it can be adjectival and substantival, in other words, "the first" or "firstling." In addition, it also signifies a blessing, an advantage, for example: kuni toroñ (the first of the people) is a man skilled in speech who can appear in public; or morini toroñ (the first among horses), an especially fast and strong horse. In exactly the same way the gift at the primitial offering is simply designated as toroñ. Whether a special blessing
782 is also to be indicated by it remains to be decided. I am not aware that especially good parts are taken for it; one does not take long to choose them, although care is always taken to see that they are not inferior, spoiled, or unclean. The primitial offering is always intended for heaven. Even where it is intended for several deities, heaven nonetheless stands in first place. Two kinds can be distinguished: the direct and the indirect.

782 The direct primitial offering is so generally widespread
264 among the Tujen that it strikes everyone who has ever observed the people at their meals. Usually it is done in the following
[826] way. In the case of beverages one dips the middle finger, which is the most superior one, into his drinking bowl, withdraws it again, and flicks the drop suspended from it into the air. This is done three times in succession. In the case of foods, for instance, bread or meat, a little piece is picked off and thrown high toward the heavens or backward over the shoulder. The direction in which one is seated does not matter. Sometimes it happens that one pours out a whole bowlful of the beverage. All confirm that they present this gift first to heaven before they themselves enjoy it. Only after heaven are they sometimes also thrown to other spirits.

782 The primitial offering is rooted deep in the consciousness of the Tujen. According to their view it must extend
773 back to the beginnings of humanity. Thus in the Geser legend
264 it is said of the first emperor Hamluo Siergān when he stopped on a [222] journey and boiled tea: "fulan tsiani sdzūlġano, tsiani toroñni kuġuo tieñgērdu tsiodlodzi" (when the red tea

[222 cont.]

782 boiled, he threw the first of the tea to the light heavens). The
773 firstling-offering is attested to even more clearly in the agricul-
264 ture myth (V. 680-690), when after long endeavor by the demiurge the first barley ripens and comes into the possession of human beings: "When after seven weeks they went to look, the barley was ripe. The head was bent over. With both hands they rubbed this (sc. the ear), which hung down like a whip. And when the kernels had come out, they wanted to make an offering to the light heavens. They offered that barley and bent their heads to the ground. But there was no way to eat." In other words, even before the people were able to make use of the blessing of the new food, they offered the firstling-gift to heaven.
[192] The word šeñlie, that is, to offer in the true sense, appears in the original text.

782 The indirect primitial offering is directed at the heavens only by the roundabout way of another offering. It is found in connection with almost all the offerings to the good spirits. In the religious customs one will scarcely find an offering that is not first made to heaven. This is shown by the actual offering act, the presentation, and the show of respect connected with it, the kowtow. Thus, the offering at the erection of the pole-goat, for instance, or even the obo offering is certainly intended for the weather gods or the mountain-spirit, and yet heaven receives the first three bowls; the other spirits come after it. Just as the human being first gives some of his goods to heaven before he uses them, so is it also in the spirit world. One could call this a primitial offering of the offering. There are naturally exceptions to this practice, as, say, in the case of the fire-pouring, torma, hen offering, etc., which belong more in the domain of Lamaism and of the Bon religion. By and large, however, the indirect primitial offering is always practiced.

## The Incense Offering

In the section concerning the incense offering (see "First Part," Anthropos 47, 1952, pp. 43 ff. [pp. 69 ff. above in the HRAF translation]), it was emphasized that it is offered to heaven first and afterwards to the other gods. In the "Notes"

[228 cont.]
776 the people, and they do not want to be without it in the legend.
[773] The Šdenlatsien Saň has no significance in the customs.

The position with respect to the mountain-spirit and the earth-god. -- In the chapter concerning the obo, the incense offering, and in other places mention was made of a tripartition of the deities, namely, in the sequence: heaven, mountain-spirit and earth-god, countless gods. Since the mountain-spirit and earth-god are not included under the Buddhistic concept purgan, a pre-Buddhistic age is automatically suggested. In addition, the mountain-spirit has tasks that one could ascribe to heaven. What is the relationship to it?

776 The Tujen call the mountain-spirit yifula. A Tibetan
551 equivalent would be the word already mentioned earlier, ri-bo
192 lha (mountain-spirit). The informant, who himself bore this name, translated it, however, with the Chinese Shan-shen pao (mountain-spirit protection). (Concerning the name-giving, cf. above, "The Conclusion of the Confinement.") This leads, however, to a Mongolic analysis of the word. According to W.A.Unkrig, this is found in the combination: ibel (protection) and ula (mountain); cf. Koval., p. 282. The interpretation corresponds to the Chinese translation. Yifula thus would be appropriately rendered with "protector of the mountains."
776 Without settling the origin of the name, it can nevertheless be
171 maintained that the cult of the mountain-spirit in the obo festival is a Mongolic peculiarity from ancient times that is repeatedly reported in the literature. Among the Tujen, too -- as among the neighboring Tangut -- the obo festival occupied an important position; cf. "The Obo," Anthropos, 47, 1952, pp. 63 ff. [pp. 114 ff. above in the HRAF translation].

776 [229] The mountain-spirit is not a terror-god, but a mild, providing father, the lord of the animals, who watches over the welfare of the herds, who cares for plants and trees, and who is concerned about the increase of human beings. He is the guardian of the ayil (village, tribe) and guards its weapons. The people gather around him for playing and dancing,
[171] prayer and offering. Although the mountain-spirit is thus

[229 cont.]

776 concerned about the well-being of the people, it is striking that
171 he is not linked with the protection of seed and harvest. Otherwise, however, his tasks correspond to those of heaven, even if he is primarily a nature god who shares his character with the lord of the animals and forests of many Siberian peoples.

776 Nonetheless there is a difference between him and heaven. First of all heaven is given precedence, even in connection with all offerings to the mountain-spirit, for instance, the obo offering. Whereas the mountain-spirit has a fixed residence in the obo, his fort, and therefore is tied to the place, heaven retains its freedom with regard to locality. The mountain-spirit can also be a tutelary spirit of the human beings who are named after him; as assisting spirit he may enter into the shaman and take possession of him in the trance. This is altogether out of the question for heaven. People are surprised if one even asks about it. There are pictures and flags of the mountain spirit; he can animate a spirit-spear. Heaven is formless, imageless; no one knows what it looks like. -- Heaven has an exalted uniqueness even in contrast to the mountain-spirit.

[553] [756] [787]

174 Besides the mountain-spirit the earth-deity has its seat
776 in the obo, and, to be sure, in the layer of earth. Its name
[192] ġlu is doubtless the Tibetan klu, Naga, dragon. In Mongolic the word for it is lu, which is also much in use in the Tujen language. It corresponds to the Chinese lung (dragon). The customs with the earth-god urn show the earth deity of the Tujen more in the Bonistic realm of the Naga cult than in the Mongolic. It is quite possible that two types have mixed here or that the ancient Mongolic has been covered by the later Bonistic-Lamaistic. According to Pallisen (op. cit., pp. 159 f.), the ancient Mongols practiced a cult of the earth-deity, who is probably to be thought of as female. There it bears the name itoga or, in the prevocalic version, etügen, and is conceived as the tutelary deity of the homeland earth. The characteristics that are attributed to this deity correspond to those of the mountain-spirit. It is also to be surmised that this deity is to be associated with the female shamans, who call themselves udugan

[231 cont.]

## The Power of Heaven

776 Heaven as giver of all benefits. -- As repeatedly appears in the individual chapters, all benefits come from heaven. It [241] gives rain and sunshine, causes the seed to thrive, and protects [782] man and animal from sickness. Man acknowledges this in the offering, especially in the primitial offering and the harvest thank-offering. The grain, the barley, is ultimately traced back to heaven by man. (Cf. above under the primitial offering, agriculture myth, p. 340.) Man owes even his clothing [773] to heaven. Thus it is said at the beginning of the Geser legend: "Heaven provided the benefit of clothing; a boot fell down from heaven (tieńgĕre džoġ nañladzia; tieńgĕrdza perlõńgĕ bõdzi rĕdzia)." (Verses 6-7.) -- That other gods are also called upon for various needs does not prejudice the fact that heaven is the cause of even these benefits. The case would only be otherwise if there were things which were ascribed to these spirits to the exclusion of heaven, which, however, cannot be demonstrated from the material available.

776 The moral power of heaven. -- The moral power of 577 heaven is expressed by the fact that man puts his conscience in 626 relation to heaven and acknowledges the latter as binding and entitled to sanction. For that which we would call conscience the Tujen simply uses the word heart (sgil); sgil is not the physi- [192] cal heart, but the inner attitude, heart in the figurative sense. Thus they say, for instance, sen sgil (good heart); tsini sgil diesẽn ugua (you do not have an honest attitude); tsini sgil ugua (you have no conscience). In these cases the Tujen translates the word sgil with the Chinese leang-hsin (conscience, honest spirit). (Cf. also DMF 348.) Now, as the two prayer formulas that were explained above demonstrate, heaven knows the inner attitude, it knows the heart of a man: "If I did evil to you, heaven knows it," "Heaven is not high, it knows it." Since these sentences are used as oath or vow formulas, it is not simply confirmation of heavenly knowledge that is given by them, but rather one tacitly also presupposes a sanction by

[231 cont.]
776 heaven that is based upon this knowledge. This is made even
577 clearer by the fact that one ascribes punitive power to heaven.
626 A much-used expression is: "tieṅgĕre dardzia, heaven has
punished (sc. him), that is, sent misfortune"; dari- means
[192] literally "to tame"; it is used predominantly for the taming of unruly horses. Similarly it is also said when one humbles a proud person: "tolġue dari- (to force the head down)." (Cf. DMF 45.)
[777] The people popularly explain the blows of misfortune that strike a person as a humbling and punishment by heaven.

776 [232] Above all heaven shows itself as a binding force
585 at the conclusion of a marriage. According to L. Schram
626 (Mariage, pp. 71 and 174), the actual act of concluding a marriage is the kowtow that the bridal people perform in the yard before heaven and the countless burchan. Heaven stands in first place. The significance of the act is shown by this solemnity,
[171] which crowns the other ceremonies. Precisely as among the Chinese, this rite before heaven (among the Chinese without burchan) has the force of law, and the marriage is regarded as concluded. That an ancient conception lies at the bottom of
[533] this is shown in the song delivered, "The Bird Pair," which is sung at every wedding. In it is described how shepherd and shepherdess at the incense offering regard themselves as a pair. (Cf. above, p. 343, where the incense offering is discussed.) Then, however, it is stated with unmistakable unequivocalness: "We venerate the great heaven and are a pair for life (šge tieṅgĕrni amudadzi, nigĕ nisĕni dzawa dãñlieya)." Likewise
[588] the marriage with the mani-tree in the absence of a husband is regarded as having the force of law before heaven; cf. Schram, op. cit., p. 127. The children born of the woman are called in Chinese t'ien sheng tzu (heaven's children). Before this marriage the girl is given the woman's hairdo; this is called
[302] in Chinese pao t'ien-t'ou (to apply the heavenly hairdo). --
[831] The opposite also appears; a girl promises her virginity to heaven and as a sign of it lets her hair hang down: arin fsdzũn tieṅgĕrde fdzĕ bõlgadzia (the pure girl lets her hair hang down for heaven). -- For the rest, the ancient Mongolic conception of the election of the Mongols by God and their task of rulership might still be exerting an effect among the Tujen.

[233 cont.]

776 773 Even less can be determined of any creative activity of heaven with respect to the individual human being. To be sure, a current Tujen saying runs: suniędzĕne tieńgĕre xuradzia, heaven has taken the soul (DMF 361), but this expresses only the rulership of heaven over life and death. There is no mention of a creation of the soul. The Chinese also know a similar phrase: t'ien shou-la t'a-ti ling-hun.

777 776 •192 171 Heaven and fate. -- A question suggested in connection with the ancient Mongolic meaning of fate or good fortune, which has had its greatest elaboration in the sülde cult, is whether something similar is to be found among the Tujen, say, that there might be a fate standing over heaven. -- The Tujen know three expressions for "fate": dzieyan, šdiemdžĕl, kimori.

dzieyan is used predominantly in the sense of favorable conditions of life, for instance, when one says: "The girl has experienced a favorable fate," meaning that she has married into a good, wealthy family. The Tujen word corresponds to the Mongolic jayagan, but does not have the latter's essential content. The significance seems, rather, to have been transferred from the original jayagan to the Tujen expression šdiemdžĕl.

šdiemdžĕl, peculiarly enough, is now found not so much in everyday language as in song. Thus the Tujen songs popularly end with the verse: moŋgol kuni lõnšda (or kimori) darlagu, [533] šdiemdžĕlgĕ rĕdziglaya, in order to erect the air-horse of the Mongols, let (us) lay (= build) a good-fortune foundation. This conception is linked with the image of the central fort. The air-horse is grounded in the central fort. Accordingly the šdiemdžĕl would correspond to the basis for fate, which is symbolized in the air-horse. Evidently, ancient conceptions are mixed here with more recent Buddhistic ones, whereby in connection with the Hayagriva figure, fate and horse are brought together. Linguistically the word šdiemdžĕl cannot be understood unequivocally. The second syllable ... dzĕl, however,

[233 cont.]

is undoubtedly to be equated with the Mongolic dsol (dzol). According to Koval. (2386), it means: good fortune, salvation; Koval. gives the Tibetan equivalent stes for it. When one notes that the Tujen always insert an i before an e in Tibetan loanwords, then the first syllable šdie(m) might be this Tibetan stes, whose final s is silent. The m would then be inserted in assimilation to the following dental. As regards its meaning, the Tujen translate šdiemdžël [234] with the Chinese yün-ch'i or t'ien-ming. They also, however, render kimori in the same way. It is thereby stated that fate is under the power of heaven, which Uno Harva also stresses for the Altaians and Mongols (Vorstellungen, pp. 144-145). In other words these Altaic-Mongolic conceptions can easily be linked with the kimori and šdiemdžël of the Tujen. According to Uno Harva, in the case of the guarantors of good fortune, the tutelary spirit of man, called zajači, is involved in the form of a double: "If a person is wealthy in his lifetime, zajači is also well-dressed, rides on a horse, and is gay" ... When the person dies, zajači disappears into heaven where he lives in the company of the gods" (op. cit., pp. 276 f.). The Lamaistic air-horse of the Tujen likewise bears on its back the guarantor of good fortune, the wishing jewel, by virtue of which the human being obtains all that seems desirable to him, in other words, good fortune. It has almost the effect of an amulet. Now, according to Uno Harva, when the tutelary lord of good fortune seems to be oriented more toward the individual person, then in the case of the sülde of the Mongols he is acting for the entire people, and, to be sure, through the khan; meanwhile, the historical development among the Chinggisiden made nine Tengri of good fortune out of it. Father W. Schmidt, in conjunction with Banzarov, characterizes the sülde in the following manner (UdG., X, p. 78): "Heaven guides the world like the khan and possesses its sülde ... The sülde of the khan is a reflection of the sülde of heaven ... The nine sülde-tengri, according to their character, are always there in order to protect. They are represented in warlike pose as though they were awaiting battle with someone, in the manner of riders ..." etc. Here, too, it is the riding

[235 cont.]

a) The bŏ or Drum-shamans

Characterization

The name: The Tujen name current throughout the land, bŏ, corresponds to the written Mongolic bŭge. Koval. (1242) gives for it the Chinese equivalent wu-jen, the Manchurian saman, the Tatar bugu, and the Tibetan lha-pa. The Russian expressions means: shaman, sorcerer; he translates it into French as: chaman, enchanteur. The Mongolic bŭge and all the other translations cited do not have any uniform meaning and can be used for the various types of shamans, exorcists, and even sorcerers.

The Chinese in the area and the Tujen translate bŏ with fashih, or somewhat contemptuously with shih-kung. The fa-shih call themselves only by this special name. According to communications (P. P. Eichinger, Bockwinkel), the name wu-shih is also in use in southern Kansu. It is important that all these designations are never permissible for the gurtum. The fa-shih are a special group that is to be clearly defined. (Space forbids going into an explanation of the names here.)

Clothing and equipment. -- The fa-shih wear an old woman's costume without sleeves and usually patterned with pictures of dragons. Normally they have no head covering, but their hair is pinned up in the fashion of an old Chinese style for women, unless they are wearing an appropriate wig with hairknots, hair-bowl, and hairpin.. These are not always available, however. On special occasions, they don the well-known five-part Buddhistic crown called p'ai-tzu.

Their essential equipment consists of the hoop drum, the hemp whip, and a three-pronged broad dagger. Other objects are added according to their functions.

Gods. -- Their principal deity is the great mother (ta niang-niang), also called mother of the nine heavens (chiu t'ien nai-nai). In addition, they also venerate the black tiger

[237 cont.]

756 The most distinguished form of the gurtum is undoubtedly
292 the Lamaistic temple-shaman. He appears in magnificent battle dress, with bow and arrow and [238] spirit-spear. On his back he carries little flags, like the former Chinese general, and thereby identifies himself as the leader of an army whose parts are represented precisely by these flags. When one sees these gurtum -- for instance, in Kumbum or Kuo-mang-szu -- one involuntarily thinks of the traditional heroes of the Chinese theater. On the other hand, in the rest of their equipment they remind one of the Lamaistic war gods who are regarded as protectors of the dogma. To be sure, in individual instances there are variations, but in general the type of these temple shamans remains the same, and they are designated in general by the same name as the people's gurtum.

756 Written Chinese also has the name hu-fa, which is a translation of c'os skyoń or Dharmapala. J. F. Rock also emphasizes their similarity to an army leader: "The Dharmapāla are demon-generals who execute the will of the tutelaries, or demon-kings. They are hideous and fierce-looking and each commands a horde of demons" [cited in English] (Na-khi Kingdom, I, p. 210, Note 26).

•192 The shaman character. -- The word "gurtum," in Tujen
756 sgurdien, in Chinese ku-erh-tien or ku-wai-tien, stems from Tibetan Lamaistic terminology. It comes from the word sku-rten, and not, as F. Lessing believes, from skur-bltams, body shakers (F. Lessing, Mongolen, p. 143). According to Ch. Das (536), rten signifies something that supports, bears, or contains something; sku-rten, according to him, means the same as: the bearer or the container of a person himself, an image of the gods or Buddha. On page 89 he gives sku-rten as an abbreviation of the three aspects sku, gsuń, t'ugs-rten. According to page 91, sku-gsuń-t'ugs are the body, speech, and thinking, in other words the three realms of human behavior or suffering: deed, word, thought. Concerning the cosmic mythological co-ordination of these aspects with the world directions and the five c'os skyoń, cf. further below. The expression sku-rten, in other words, signifies that the gurtum is the container of a deity

[238 cont.]

757 [192] that acts, speaks, and thinks in him. This, however, is nothing other than an express possession-shamanism reduced to a simple Busshistic formula. The gurtum represents a deity.

757 171 Whether one may appeal to the gurtum in the "classical" sense as a shaman is a question that can only be answered with the final clarification of the shaman concept. In the investigation of shamanism up to now there has been too much concern with its Siberian form and special emphasis on the flight of the soul into the beyond as a "classical" characteristic, especially with the "bird type" of shaman (9). This is not the place to

[114]

9. The one-sided preference for Siberian shamanism is also unfortunately found in the excellent work by Mircea Eliade, Le Chamanisme, in which, to be sure, there are comparisons with other parts of the earth, and the "southern" and Buddhist influences are also taken into consideration, but they are dealt with only as secondary and unimportant; above all, however, the so characteristic stamp of Lamaistic shamanism in the figure of the gurtum is completely passed over.

go into this question in greater detail, which is reserved for later [239] treatment. It should nonetheless be stated in advance that the gurtum is a true shaman of the same shamanistic rank as the Siberian. Anyone who has had an opportunity to observe a gurtum will not regard him simply as one possessed. The gurtum is likewise as bound to the ritual requirements and forms as, say, his Siberian colleague: call (vision), tutelary spirit, testing, dress and equipment, ecstasy, etc. In addition, there is much to indicate that formerly he was also familiar with the flight of the soul.

[254 cont.]

## 4. Lamaism

779 792 The preceding accounts have repeatedly demonstrated how great an influence Lamaism exerts upon the people. As the latest form it has also most strongly penetrated the entire religious life; it offers the people a large number of gods and saints; it gives them the mani-trees, prayer mills, treasure urns, chorten chambers, central forts, and obos; they have it to thank for a considerable part of the world-view. To be sure, one must differentiate the ecclesiastical Lamaism of the monasteries and monks from the popular Lamaism, which in its watered-down customs remains unburdened by complicated doctrines and tantristic rites. This popular Lamaism, however, would be unimaginable without the strong support and the permanent effect of the monasteries, which are already so closely linked with the people because their community is constantly renewed from the families of the people. An important piece of the religi- 792 ous picture would therefore be lacking if one did not at least in hasty strokes characterize the monastery, which for the Tujen of that region is their spiritual center. -- The relationships to Kumbum will be passed over, although they are not to be underestimated. One merely needs to recall that it was a Chi-t'u-szu (prince) who at the beginning of the eighteenth century through his personal pledge preserved Kumbum from Chinese revenge and destruction, so that his clan until the most recent [624] times enjoyed monastic protection and the princes (T'u-szu) themselves on their visits were received by the lamas on their knees; in this connection, cf. Schulemann, p. 179.

[103] The name of the Tujen monastery dGon-luṅ is Tibetan. dgon (pronounced gon) means literally "solitude, hermitage." [192] In the figurative sense it has become the established expression for "monastery" (vihāra), because a monastery must be at least 1,000 steps away from any human habitation; cf. Ch. Das, p. 275; luṅ means "valley, district." Thus, dGon-luṅ is best rendered as "monastery-valley" or "monastery-district" or simply [346] "monastery," for a lama monastery should not be imagined as